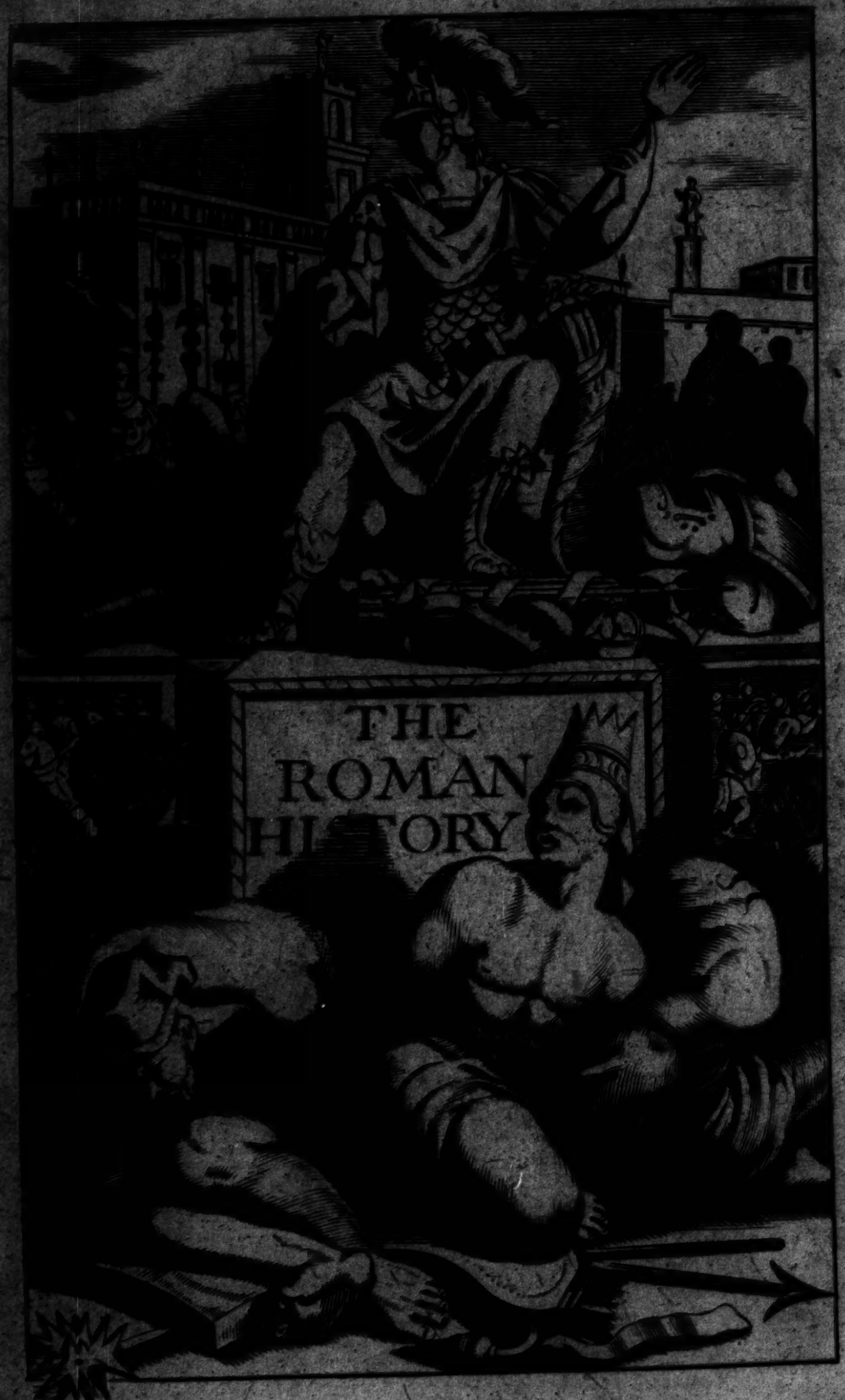
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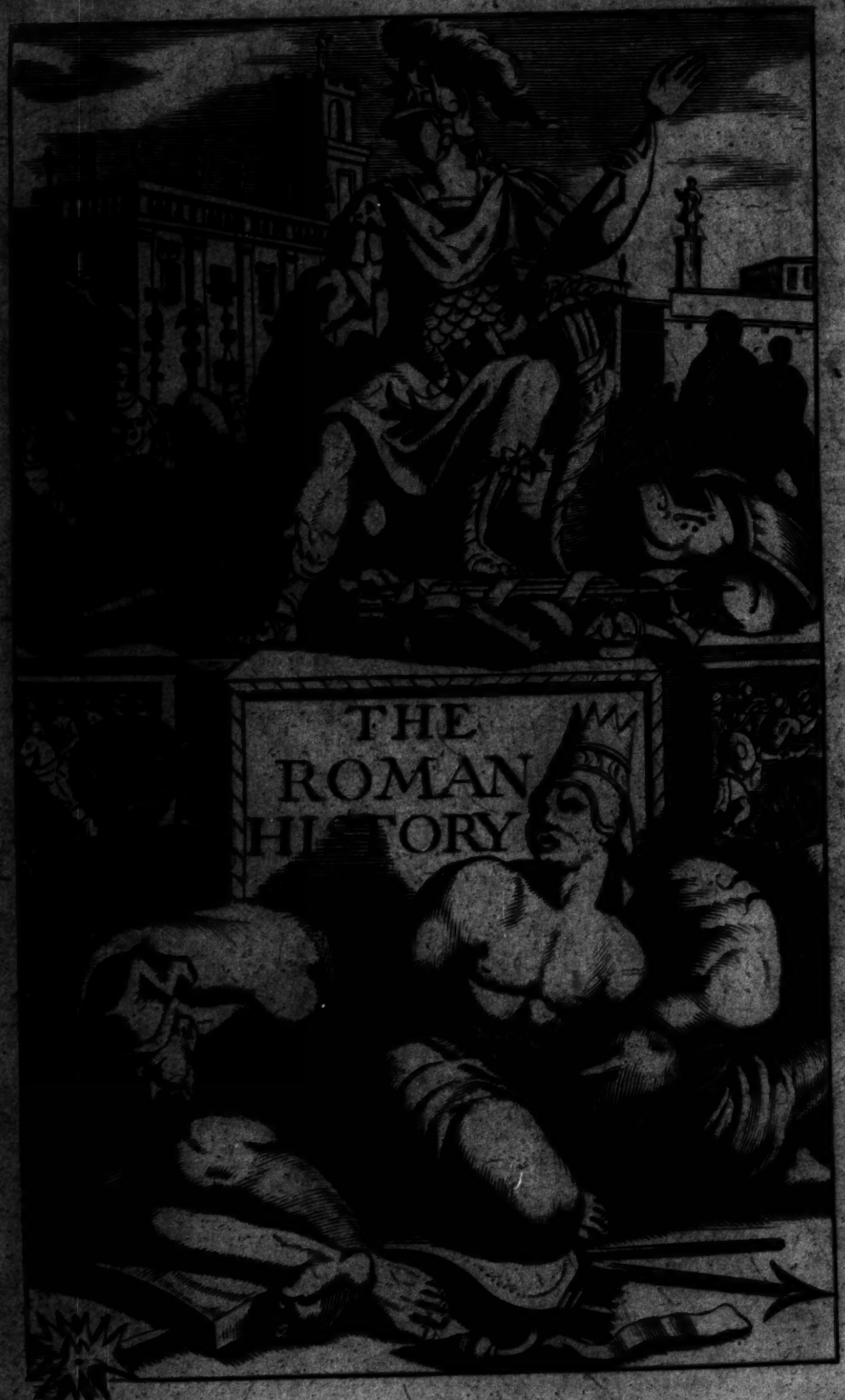
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THE ROMAN HISTORY,

From the Reſtitution of the

EMPIRE

BY

Charles the Great,

To the Taking of

Conſtantinople by the *Turks*.

Containing the Space of 653 Years.

VOL. V. and Laſt.

By the Author of the Third and Fourth.

The Fourth Edition.

Revis'd by *LAURENCE ECHARD*, A. M.
Being a further Continuation of his Hiſtory.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

AT length the Reader is presented with the Fifth and Last Volume, of what we call the Roman *History, which concludes with the Dissolution of the* Byzantine, *or Eastern Empire, the fatal Effects of which all* Christendom *feels to this Day. I thought the kind Reception the World gave the former Volumes, a sufficient Encouragement for me to undergo the Difficulties I knew I had to contend with in the Compiling of this, tho' I must confess they prov'd greater upon Tryal, than they at first appear'd. The Multiplicity of Authors I had to consult, their different Tempers, private Interest and Inclinations; the Prolixness of some, and affected Brevity of others, their manifest Contradictions, and the different Opinions they have severally met with from the learned World, convinc'd me of the great Care I was to take in the Performance, and how liable I was to Mistakes. 'Tis a just Observation* Cantacuzenus, *one of the best among 'em, has made himself in the Preface to his History*

Αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅσοι πατὰ ἔτυχον ἀναγράψαι περὶ τῶν δὴ
λόγων, ὅσον δὴ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀληθῆ πάντα

μάτων, ἀρκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι πρὸς Ἀλήθειαν τὴν τῶνδε ἢ τὴν φιλήμονον ἐπαινέσαι, ἢ τὴν μισόμισθον καταβλασφημῆσαι, τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν μηδὲν φροντίσαντες. They represented, *saith he*, the Matters they pretended to give an Historical Account of, in such Colours as were most agreeable to their particular Tempers; without any Regard had to Truth, they thought their Business was immoderately to praise or condemn those to whom, upon private Considerations, they were well or ill affected. *For this Reason I found it my Business to enquire into the History of the Man, before I could depend upon that of the Author, and quickly perceiv'd, that Prejudice and Partiality were Vices, as predominant in those Ages as they are now; even they who pretended to be Eye-Witnesses of what they writ, were often blinded by Passion, or mis-led by Interest.*

I would premise this, by way of Apology, for whatever Errors shall be found in the following Sheets: The Ground was so slippery that I hope I may be pardon'd, if I have tripp'd sometimes; when the Foundation is weak, 'tis unreasonable to expect a Master-piece in the Superstructure.

After all, I hope it is not so bad, but the Reader will meet with something in it worthy his Observation, and perceive it's no new thing to hear the People cry out, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord! *who very rarely frequent the Church; or to find Men contend for what they call the Purity of Worship,*

who in the mean time place all in a specious Outside, and having no more than the Form of Godliness are no better than tinkling Cymbals. One thing the Reader will particularly observe of the Greeks, that when Mahomet was with a powerful Army at their Gates, and the Dangers, with which they were immediately threaten'd, requir'd the united Forces of a much stronger People to oppose 'em, that then they busied themselves in unseasonable Disputes about Religion, 'till they had sacrific'd even that, and all that was dear to 'em, in the Quarrel.

The Reader perhaps may wonder why 'tis still call'd the Roman History, since the People of whom it treats bear so little a Resemblance to those Ancient Romans, who were the Subject of the former Volumes: The greatest Reason is, that they always call themselves so; their Authors call'd the People Romans, and their Princes the Roman Emperors, affecting the Title when they had lost the Power, and so were laugh'd at by the rest of the World for their Pains.

In a Word, tho' it be not a Work so perfect and irreprovable, as might be wish'd, yet I hope it will not meet with a worse Reception, for the many Pamphlets that abound at this Day in the World, which oftner expose the Heat, than the Sense of a Party, and serve only to widen the Breaches they pretend to heal. 'Tis the Sign of an ill Ma-

negligent in the Faculty, when so many set up for Physicians; and certainly we never had more Pretenders to Politicks, who less understood the Thing they presume to teach; and 'tis well if some Means could be found to draw the World off from reading and encouraging such Follies.

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THE

THE Roman History.

VOL. V.

From the Reſtitution of the Roman *Empire by* Charles *the Great, to the Taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Turks.

Containing the Space of 653 Years.

CHAP. I.

From the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Empire in the Weſt, to the Death of Leo Philoſophus.

Containing the Space of 111 *Years.*

I. THE laſt Volume concluded with the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Empire in the *Weſt* under *Charles* the Great; and tho' the exceeding Power, and Authority of this new Empire, the Extent of its Dominions, the Intrigues, Intereſts, and different Fortunes of his Succeſſors, the prevailing Greatneſs of the Popes, their private Artifices and publick Encroachments, the Ignorance of ſome, the Cruelty of others, and the Ambition of all, ſeem to afford Materials more than ſufficient for this ſucceeding Volume, I ſhall no farther regard them than as they bear a Relation to the Affairs of the *Eaſt*.

The Fortunes of which Empire I shall endeavour to pursue down to its Dissolution, and present 'em to the Reader's View, in as clear and methodical a Narration as the Assistance left us by the Historians will admit of.

The *Byzantine* Empire was so far from being weaken'd by the Erection of a new Imperial Authority in the *West*, that in all probability it would have receiv'd new Strength and Nourishment from it, as by a Line of Communication, had it not been broken by the Contrivances of some, who either preferr'd their private Interest to the publick Good, or were influenc'd by such narrow Considerations as confin'd their Councils and Actions to the Age they themselves liv'd in, without any Prospect had towards the Times that were to follow. Men began to grow too opinionative Statesmen, to be true Patriots, and the Art of Government was more aim'd at, than the End of it: However, as private Men are instructed by the Failings and Misfortunes of their Neighbours, so should the Factions and Distempers of one Age be apply'd to heal the Breaches and Divisions of another.

At the Time that *Charles* the Great was saluted Emperor by the Pope and all the *Roman* People, the Eastern Empire was engag'd in almost uninterrupted Wars with the *Saracens*, their irreconcileable Enemies; who, besides the Hatred they bore 'em from Considerations Civil and Political, persecuted them upon the Score of their Religion. *Aaron* their Caliph, and his Predecessors, had so effectualy prevail'd against 'em, that hardly the Name of a Patriarch was heard of at *Antioch* or *Alexandria*; and that either because no such had been for some Time appointed, or for that they who were chosen to the Office had not the Courage, in that miserable Age, to appear in the Execution of it; and 'tis an assured Sign they have lost their Liberties, who have been forc'd to give up their Religion. These Considerations, and the daily Progress of *Charles*'s Arms in the West, his unweary'd Diligence, and warlike Preparations, which seem'd

to

to promise him the absolute Dominion of all *Italy*, and of *Sicily*, mov'd *Irene* the Empress to send her Ambassadors to him with Proposals of a firm and lasting Peace. *Charles* gave 'em a very free and generous Audience, and promis'd by Ambassadors of his own at *Constantinople* to treat of, and agree to, whatever should be thought proper for the Good of both Empires. To these Ambassadors were join'd Legats from the Pope, and they were all honour'd with a very magnificent Reception at *Constantinople*. Thus far the Matter proceeded much to the Honour and Satisfaction of *Irene*, tho' in the Issue it prov'd her Dethronement and Destruction. Among their other Instructions, these Ambassadors were order'd to treat of a Marriage between *Charles* and the Empress, that the two Empires might be once more happily united in their Persons. Of this *Irene* is said to have made the first Overtures to *Charles*, and therefore very readily enter'd into the Negotiations; but was as zealously oppos'd in it by *Aetius* an Eunuch, who being a distinguish'd Favourite, rul'd with great Authority in the Palace, and was become Master of immense Treasures. He had for a long Time labour'd in secret to advance his Brother *Leo*, either as an Associate to *Irene*, or her Successor in the Empire, and he well knew all his Counsels and Contrivances would unavoidably be defeated by so unexpected a Treaty. Nor was *Aetius* the only Obstacle to the March propos'd, for *Nicephorus* the Patrician, a Man of great Interest and ambitious Designs, declar'd himself more openly against her. He had some Months before engag'd *Nicetas* and several others of the leading Men among the Patricians to join with him, by representing to 'em how shameful and ignominious it was for Men like them to be Slaves to the Pride and Ambition of an imperious Woman; and now added fresh Weight to his former Remonstrances, by showing 'em the dangerous Consequences of such a March, and the pernicious Design *Irene* had of transferring the Govern-

ment of the East into the Hands of *Charles*, and thereby making them no other than a Province to the Western Emperors. This produc'd a very ſudden Revolution; for the diſcontented Nobility being ſupported by their Clients and Dependants, went in a large Body to the great Palace, where they got an eaſie Admittance; for telling the Guards it was *Irene*'s Pleaſure *Nicephorus* ſhould be declar'd Emperor, on purpoſe to obviate the Deſigns of *Ætius*, who in a very preſumptuous manner urg'd her to his Brother *Leo*'s Promotion; *Ætius* being a Man obnoxious to the Army, the Guards readily believ'd what the Conſpirators affirm'd, and declar'd for *Nicephorus*; who being thus admitted with his Friends, ſent his Emiſſaries about the City that Night, to prepare the People for the Execution of his Deſigns the Day following. As ſoon as it was Light, thoſe of his Party ſeiz'd forcibly on *Irene*, and ſhut her up in Priſon; after which they conducted their new Emperor to the great Church, where he was crown'd in a tumultuous manner, being ſaluted with the Curſes, rather than the Acclamations of the People.

Irene depos'd,

This was the end of *Irene*'s Power, and the beginning of her Miſeries. At firſt the Tyrant treated her with much Civility and Reſpect, he exclaim'd againſt the Violence of the People, who, out of a Diſaffection to her Perſon and Government, had forc'd him to accept of the Imperial Title. He knew ſhe had conceal'd an immenſe Treaſure, and being a Man of a ſordid covetous Temper, he hop'd, by an inſinuating Complacency, to perſuade her to diſcover it. At firſt ſhe endeavour'd to evade his Sollicitations, but at length comply'd with his Requeſt, upon Condition ſhe might be ſuffer'd to live in a peaceable and honourable Reſtraint in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, which ſhe her ſelf had built. *Nicephorus*, by a ſolemn Promiſe, granted her Deſire, but having obtain'd his Ends he baniſh'd her to a Monaſtery in the *Prince's Iſlands*, from whence he ſhortly after remov'd her to *Mitylene*

And baniſh'd.

Mitylene in the Isle of *Lesbos*, lest the People, who hated him, should restore her to her former Dignity, where she dy'd of Grief.

Tho' *Irene* had from the beginning behav'd her self like an arrogant, haughty, and ambitious Princess, yet the People, whom she had oblig'd by several popular Acts of Grace and Condescention, with unfeigned Sighs lamented her Destruction, and 'tis wonderful to consider how the great Champions of the Papacy extol and admire her upon no other Account but for her Devotion to the See of *Rome*, and her blind Zeal for the worship of Images; and tho' neither the Tongue of Men or Angels can reasonably excuse her unnatural Barbarity to her Son, they have prophanely presum'd to vindicate it by Texts of Holy Scripture, and thereby in some measure made God himself, who is of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity, the Author of an Act which all Ages must have in Execration; so ready are they, by a superstitious Logick, to join the greatest Opposites, and turn Darkness into Light.

Tho' *Charles* his Ambassadors, who were Eye-witnesses of this unexpected Revolution, could not but resent these rebellious Proceedings, yet they readily made their Court to the new Prince, and continu'd their Negotiations. *Nicephorus*, who well knew how great a Support the Friendship of *Charles* would prove to him, entertain'd 'em very favourably, and promis'd to send 'em back with Ambassadors of his own, who the Year following concluded a Peace between the two Princes, by Virtue of which *Charles* was acknowledg'd Emperor of the West, and his Empire comprehended all *Italy*, as far as the Rivers *Volturno* and *Olphanto*, with *Bavaria*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, all *Germany*, *France* and *Spain*, and that the rest of *Italy*, except *Venice* and its Dependancies, which continu'd neuter, with the Eastern Parts of *Europe*, should continue under the Dominion of *Nicephorus*; whose Ambassadors, having had all Things

Nicephorus. A. D. 802.

transacted according to their own Desires, return'd home very well satisfy'd with their Negotiation.

Tho' *Nicephorus* hop'd, upon his Friendship with *Charles*, and the Benefit of this Treaty, to render himself belov'd and respected by his People, yet was he universally detested, especially by the Army. He was by Nature haughty, covetous and revengeful, which in some measure he conceal'd before his Promotion, but behav'd himself with little or no Reserve after his Advancement. It is to be doubted whether he was more greedy of Blood or of Gold: He was a perfect Slave to his Appetites, and as such could have no serious Taste of Religion. These pernicious Qualities, so unbecoming an Emperor in the very Entrance of his Reign, rais'd the general Murmurs of the People against him, and provok'd the Army in the East to renounce their Allegiance, and declare *Bardanes*, one of their Commanders, Emperor. *Bardanes* was at first supported by *Michael* and *Leo*, two principal Officers, who succeeded *Nicephorus* in the Empire; but whether they found *Bardanes*, who fear'd the Effusion of Christian Blood, averse to the Election of the Army; or that being of a meek, peaceable Temper, he was unable to improve the Advantage Fortune had thrown into his Hands, they shortly after deserted him, and went over to *Nicephorus*; so that *Bardanes*, being forsaken by his Friends, and terrify'd by the Predictions of a Monk, sent a submissive Message to *Nicephorus*, and earnestly su'd for a Pardon, which the Emperor readily promis'd, and order'd him to be shaven in the Monastery of *Heraclius* at *Cataboliun*; but as if all this was not sufficient for his Security, he shortly after commanded his Eyes to be pluck'd out, as he was going upon a friendly Invitation from him to *Constantinople*. *Nicephorus* proceeded with great Severity against some others that had appear'd most forward in the late Commotions, and *Nicetas*, who had been so zealous for his Advancement, was poison'd about the same Time, and some will have it by the Emperor's

Bardanes declar'd Emperor by the Army in the East.

A. D. 803.

ror's Order; who being thus ſecur'd from *Bardanes*, thought farther to confirm the Empire in his own Houſe by crowning his Son *Stauratius*, a Perſon as unfit for the Imperial Dignity as his Father, being deform'd in Body and Mind. This Solemnity being over, and having, as he thought, ſettled his Affairs at home, he march'd with a powerful Army againſt the *Arabians*, who had miſerably harraſs'd the Empire, and from whom he receiv'd a total Defeat the *Auguſt* following, and very narrowly eſcap'd with his Life; but the *Saracens* not thinking it ſufficient that they had repell'd *Nicephorus*, and, after he had loſt the greateſt part of his Army, forc'd him to return inglorious home, ſhortly after, under the Command of *Aaron* their Caliph, to the Number of three hundred thouſand Men, invaded the Empire, and proceeding as far as *Tyana*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia Minor*, they took the City, and erected in it a *Mahometan* Moſch, after which the Caliph ſeiz'd on other fortify'd Towns, and having detach'd a Body of ſixty thouſand Men towards *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, they waſted the Country up as far as that City. This ſpeedy Progreſs of the Infidels awaken'd *Nicephorus*, who was buſying himſelf in Buildings, and other expenſive Amuſements. He rais'd as powerful an Army as the Time would allow of, but finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the numerous Forces of his Enemies, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Aaron* with Propoſals for a Peace. The Caliph, who well knew the Neceſſities to which the Emperor was reduc'd, would give no ear to an Accommodation, but upon theſe Terms, that the Emperor ſhould pay the *Saracens* an yearly Tribute of thirty thouſand Pieces of Gold, beſides three thouſand for his own Head, and as many for that of his Son; and that *Nicephorus* ſhould not for the future preſume to repair the Forts *Aaron* had taken and diſmantled. *Nicephorus* paid the Money, but as ſoon as *Aaron* was retir'd he reſtor'd the Forts that had been demoliſh'd, and added new ones to 'em, at which the *Arabians* were ſo provok'd, that they

Nicephorus *overthrown by the* Arabians.

A. D. 806.

The great Progress of the Saracens.

return'd with a numerous Army, and rag'd with a greater Fury than they had done before. At the same Time they arm'd a strong Fleet against *Cyprus*, which they took, demolishing the Churches, killing or driving away the Inhabitants, and miserably wasting the Island. The Year following they attempted the same Thing against *Rhodes*, where a great Number of the Inhabitants were taken Prisoners; but the Garrison in the Castle made a very vigorous Resistance, and the Fleet in their return suffer'd very much by a furious Storm, which some Writers have attributed to the Violence they offer'd the Relicks of St. *Nicholas* at *Myra*, a City in *Lycia*, where they touch'd as they were returning home.

Baron. Annal. A. D. 807.

In the mean Time *Nicephorus* was employ'd in seeking out an agreeable Match for his Son *Stauratius*; he had lately arm'd for an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*, his inveterate Enemies, but being arriv'd at *Adrianople*, the Army refus'd to march for want of their Pay, which forc'd him to return home with much Anger, and more Dishonour. Being arriv'd at *Constantinople* he summon'd the most beautiful Virgins of the City to appear at Court, in order to chuse from among 'em a Wife for his Son; but having consulted with his Council he marry'd *Stauratius* to *Theophania*, one of the late Empress *Irene*'s Relations, tho' she had been contracted before to another Man, and to add a Grace to the Nuptial he deflour'd two of the Virgins he had summon'd to attend him. This his brutish Behaviour threw the People into a general Discontent, and in Time drew the Divine Vengeance down upon his Head. He was so universally hated, that almost every Day some Conspiracy or other was form'd against him, which however by his extraordinary Diligence he always detected, and proceeded with exemplary Severity against the Conspirators, sparing neither Laymen nor Ecclesiasticks, putting some to Death, banishing others, and confiscating the Estates of the rest.

reſt. Whilſt he was wholly intent upon theſe bloody Inquiſitions, the *Bulgarians* defeated a Party of his Soldiers, taking from 'em eleven hundred Pounds of Gold, which he had aſſign'd for the Payment of his Army. The ſame Year before *Eaſter*, *Crumus*, King of *Bulgaria*, ſurpris'd *Sardica*, and put ſix thouſand Soldiers to the Sword. The Emperor made no other uſe of theſe Misfortunes, than with a more heavy Hand to oppreſs his diſtreſſed Subjects; ſuch of his Commanders as had the good Fortune to eſcape the Hands of *Crumus* he receiv'd ſo roughly, and terrify'd 'em with his Menaces, that he provok'd 'em to revolt, and ſide with the *Bulgarians*. He impos'd a new Tribute upon the City to repair *Sardica*, and omitted no Opportunity of exhauſting his Subjects, and ſwelling his own Coffers, which however were hardly ſufficient for his daily extravagant Expences. Some of the Wealth, rais'd by theſe violent Extortions, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who, making an Inroad into the *Roman* Territories, overthrew *Leo*, one of his Generals, and, beſides the Slaughter of a great Multitude of his Men, took from him a great Quantity of Gold, with which he was going to pay the Army. To repair this Loſs he tax'd all Churches and Monaſteries, and laid an Impoſition of eight Years upon the Houſes of the Nobility, commanding *Nicetas* the Patrician to levy it, whilſt he proceeded in another Expedition againſt the *Bulgarians*. Being by this Time forſaken of God, and deteſted of Men, he had little reaſon to hope any good Succeſs would crown his Undertakings; however he collected into one Body moſt of the Forces throughout his Empire, and having conſtrain'd many poor Men to ſerve on Foot at their own Charges, arm'd with Slings and Staves, and following him with their Curſes, which were aggravated with thoſe of his whole Army, he enter'd *Bulgaria*: Of whoſe Approach when *Crumus*, who then lay at *Marcellæ*, was inform'd, being terrify'd at the Report of the Multitudes he

brought

brought with him, ſent and deſir'd Peace; but the obſtinate Emperor, blinded by his own Folly, and the Inſinuations of his Flatterers, arrogantly refus'd it, and with a cowardly Temerity, on the twentieth of *July*, when the Dog-ſtar rag'd over the Plains, he invaded the Country, often repeating theſe Words, *Who ſhall go and deceive* Ahab? *What God or Devil is it that draws me on thus againſt my own Will?* By which he ſeem'd ſenſible of that Fate which his Foreknowledge could not avoid. Whilſt he was on his March, *Byzantius*, his beloved Favourite, forſook him, and fled with the Imperial Robe and an Hundred Pounds of Gold, to *Crumus*, which was receiv'd as an unlucky Omen by ſome about him. For three Days together he ſeem'd to have the Advantage, but aſcrib'd his Succeſs not to the Mercy of God, but the Conduct and good Fortune of his Son *Stauratius*. He exceedingly threaten'd all the *Bulgarian* Officers that oppos'd his Progreſs, extended his Fury to Brutes, to Infants, and Perſons of both Sexes, all Ages and Conditions, denying the Right of Burial to thoſe who were ſlain, and with a greedy Eye and rapacious Hand ſeiz'd on whatever was able to ſatisfie either his Pride or his Avarice, puniſhing thoſe Chriſtians with the loſs of their Ears and other Members, who were found embezzling any part of the Booty. *Crumus* being ſenſibly afflicted at the Calamities of his Subjects, ſent again an humble ſubmiſſive Meſſage to him, offering him all he could demand on Condition he would quit the Country; but he, deaf to the Name of Peace, receiv'd the Meſſengers with Scorn, and diſmiſs'd 'em with Indignation. Whereupon *Crumus*, agitated by Deſpair and the Thirſt of Revenge, fortify'd and ſecur'd all the Paſſes the Emperor had broken thro', and ſhut him up ſo cloſe in the Bowels of his Country, that *Nicephorus*, when he had obſerv'd it, cry'd out with great Aſtoniſhment to thoſe that were near him, *That tho' they all had Wings they never could eſcape the Deſtruction which ſo nearly threaten'd them.*

A. D. 811.

Nicephorus *rages with great Fury in* Bulgaria;

them. Two Days after this *Crumus* set upon his Camp, and took it by Storm, in which fell the Emperor himself, with most of the Patricians and general Officers. *Stauratius* receiv'd a mortal Wound in his Neck, and escap'd in a Litter to *Adrianople*. All the Arms and Baggage fell into the Enemy's Hands; and *Crumus* having found *Nicephorus* his Corps, cut off his Head, and having fix'd it on a high Pole, expos'd it for some Time to the view of his Soldiers, after which he enclos'd his Skull in Silver, and in an insulting manner made his Nobility drink out of it.

Where at length he is slain.

The many fatherless Children and Widows which that Day's Destruction made, would have forc'd 'em to curse the Remembrance of it, had they not been comforted with this Thought, that the Tyrant perish'd in it. His Government was so insupportable, that he exceeded all the Monsters who ever reign'd before him, in Ambition, Luxury, and unheard-of Barbarities; he was strongly inclin'd to the Sect of the *Manichees*, and commanded his Officers to use Ecclesiasticks no other than as Slaves. He deny'd Providence, and affirm'd no Power was greater than that of the Emperor, if he had but the Art of Government, for which reason he condemn'd all his Predecessors as ignorant and unskilful. He fell in the ninth Year of his Reign, the Eleventh of *Charles* the Great, *A. D.* 811. Theophan.

II. *Stauratius*, as we observ'd before, escap'd wounded to *Adrianople*, where some of the Officers took Care to have him saluted and declar'd Emperor, to which the People were so little consenting, that they did not more rejoice at the Death of the Father, than they griev'd that the Son surviv'd him. Being sensible of his weak Condition, and the publick Hatred to which he was expos'd, he resolv'd to confirm his Wife *Theophania* in the Empire. The chief of the Army, and the Principal among the Nobility, who detested the Memory of *Nicephorus*, had fix'd their

Eyes

MICHAEL. Eyes on *Michael Curopalates*, who had marry'd *Procopia*, the late Emperor's Daughter, as a Perſon fitteſt for the Dignity. *Michael*, in regard of the Oaths he had given to *Nicephorus* and his Son, at firſt very zealouſly declin'd it; but being inform'd that *Stauratius*, the better to ſecure the Empire to his Wife, in Diſtruſt of him and the great Affection the Nobility bore him, deſign'd to pluck out his Eyes, he accepted of the Offer, and was declar'd Emperor. Upon which *Stauratius* forſook the Place, and retir'd with his Wife into a Monaſtery, where he took the Habit, and dy'd ſhortly after, having acted as Emperor but two Months and ten Days.

Michael was crown'd with great Solemnity by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, after he had by a publick Writing oblig'd himſelf to maintain the Privileges of the Church, and abſtain from Chriſtian Blood. Shortly after he declar'd his Wife *Procopia* Empreſs, and had her crown'd together with his Son *Theophylact*, and then apply'd himſelf with great Care to heal the Wounds of the State. He made a Proviſion for the Widows and Children of ſuch Soldiers as fell in the late Wars: He ſettled an honourable Penſion upon *Theophania*, *Stauratius*'s Widow: He preſented the Patriarch with Fifty Pounds of Gold, and gave the Clergy Five and Twenty, which was afterwards follow'd by more conſiderable Preſents to them and the Senate; endeavouring to eaſe and reſtore thoſe Families that had ſuffer'd under the Tyranny of the laſt Reign: And having in the beſt manner he could ſettled the Affairs of the Empire at home, he took care to enter into ſuch Alliances as were neceſſary for the Security of it abroad. Among the reſt he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the Great, with Orders to renew and confirm the Peace, and propoſe a Match between his Son *Theophylact* and *Charles*'s Daughter. 'Tis not unlikely but *Charles* would willingly have liſten'd to ſuch a Propoſal, had the Temper of thoſe Times permitted it, but *Michael* was retir'd to a pri-

vate

vate State before a Matter of that Conſequence could maturely be conſider'd. The ſmall Account we have of him from Hiſtory repreſents him to us a Prince like ſome of his Predeceſſors, too good for the Age he liv'd in. He was zealous for the Honour of Chriſtianity, and no leſs for the Safety of the Empire; but the Difficulties he had to contend withal were too great, and he found little other Satisfaction in his Undertakings than what reſulted from his honeſt Intentions. He was hardly veſted in the Imperial Purple, before he found himſelf engag'd in War almoſt on every ſide: The *Saracens* continu'd their uſual Inroads into the Empire, which they depopulated by their daily Devaſtations; and the *Bulgarians* could not forget their ancient Animoſities. Againſt the firſt *Michael* ſent *Leo*, the Governor of thoſe Parts, who watch'd his Opportunity ſo well, that he overthrew two thouſand of their Men, and return'd with many Horſes and a rich Booty. The War with the *Bulgarians* prov'd more fatal to the Emperor, which ſome attribute to his own Diffidence and Puſillanimity, others to the Treachery of *Leo* who ſucceeded him. In the beginning of this Emperor's Reign there appear'd a better Underſtanding between the two Nations than had been formerly; for ſeveral of the *Bulgarians* had, upon a Permiſſion obtain'd from *Michael*, ſettled themſelves in the *Roman* Territories, and a mutual Friendſhip ſeem'd to be cultivated on each ſide. But it happen'd that ſome of the Emperor's Subjects, who had been taken Captive in the former Wars, broke their Priſons, and return'd home: Of theſe *Crumus* demanded an immediate Reſtitution, threatning to reſent a Refuſal in the moſt hoſtile manner imaginable. The Emperor, who was naturally averſe to War, and a few others, were of Opinion that *Crumus* ought to be gratify'd, but the Majority carry'd it againſt 'em; whereupon the *Bulgarians* fell upon the Weſtern Parts of the Empire, waſting all with Fire and Sword. *Michael* A.D. 813.

chael prepar'd with all Expedition to oppose 'em, and march'd at the Head of his Army into *Thrace*, where he suffer'd his unruly Soldiers to commit so many Disorders, that the Inhabitants began to despise him as a Man ignorant, or careless of Military Discipline. *Crumus* encamp'd himself near *Adrianople*, and after several slight Skirmishes both Armies came to an Engagement, in which the Imperialists were entirely defeated and put to Flight. *Michael* was so sensibly affected with this Misfortune, that he grew weary of the Imperial Purple, which requir'd a Man of a more warlike Genius, and therefore resolv'd to resign that Honour, which lay continually expos'd to the Hazards of War, and the Licentiousness of an Army. Thus is the Matter related by *Theophanes*, a Writer, who liv'd in that Age, and was a Sharer in the Transactions of those Times, who adds, that *Michael* earnestly press'd *Leo* to accept of the Empire, and suffer him to retire into a Cloyster, but that *Leo* for a long Time refus'd it, being a Man uncorrupted in his Loyalty, and sensible of the dangerous State of Affairs, and the daily Incursions of the *Barbarians*, 'till observing *Michael* resolv'd upon his Resignation, and that the Enemy approach'd the Imperial City, then with much difficulty he went attended by the Magistrates and Soldiers to the Tribunal, where he was unanimously declar'd Emperor. Thus have we the Matter related by *Theophanes*, if at least the latter part of that History be genuin; for some, upon good Grounds, have affirm'd, that he concluded it with the Reign of *Nicephorus*, and that the Residue was added by some other Hand: The other Historians that write of that Age vary from *Theophanes* in some Particulars. They say *Michael* at first had the Advantage of the *Bulgarians*, 'till *Leo*, the General of the East, who aim'd at the Empire, drew off in the Heat of the Battel with the Forces under his Command, by which means the Imperialists were so much weaken'd, that the *Bulgarians* recover'd the Day;

Cedrenus.

Day; whereupon *Michael* relinquish'd the Government, and left *Leo* by his Valour to defend that Crown his Treachery had so inevitably expos'd. They add, that *Michael* withdrew not by any voluntary Abdication, but was forced to it by the ambitious Practices of *Leo*, who being left behind in *Thrace* to protect the Country, and restrain the Incursions of the *Barbarians*, took the Advantage of the Emperor's Absence, and by some of his intimate Friends insinuated into the Minds of the Soldiers *Michael*'s Ignorance and Inactivity, and the great Experience and Integrity of *Leo*. These Intrigues were manag'd with so much Art, that *Leo* was forc'd publickly by the Army to accept of those Honours which his Ambition in private had so earnestly courted. When *Michael* was inform'd at *Constantinople* of what the Army had done, some of his Friends advis'd him to assert his Title, and prepare for a vigorous Resistance: Among the rest his Wife *Procopia*, a Princess of a masculine ambitious Spirit, declar'd it became him rather to die than desert the Imperial Throne. But *Michael* being of a meek peaceable Disposition, affirm'd he was ready to part not only with his Crown but his Life, to save the Effusion of Christian Blood, and accordingly sent the Imperial Ensigns to *Leo*, who was thereupon universally acknowledg'd Emperor. LEO IV.

By whatever Artifices *Leo* obtain'd the Purple, he made it appear in the Course of his Reign that he well deserv'd it; and those Persons that were his avow'd Enemies upon the Account of Religion, were forc'd to allow him to have been an active vigilant Prince. *Michael* immediately upon his Resignation had withdrawn himself with his Wife and Children into a Monastery at *Constantinople*, but *Leo* thought it highly consisted with his Safety to have 'em separated, and therefore confin'd the Father to a Monastery on the Island *Prota*, and banish'd *Procopia* and her Children, having first cruelly castrated *Theophylact* the Eldest, and, as some would have it, his Brother

ther *Ignatius*, who notwithstanding was afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*. After this he promoted such of his Friends as he thought he could with most safety confide in, especially his Fellow-servants, *Thomas* and *Michael Balbus*, of whom mention will be made in its proper Place. The Empire had exceedingly suffer'd by the *Bulgarians* during the Reigns of his Predecessors; he found the Army much weaken'd, and was sensible how difficult a Matter it was to fill it up with new Levies. In the mean Time the *Barbarians*, animated by their late Victories, continu'd their Incursions, and pierc'd into the very Bowels of *Thrace*, which they depopulated without controul. *Leo* endeavour'd at first to restrain 'em by fair means; and for that purpose sent his Ambassadors to *Crumus*, whose frequent Advantages against them had drawn him into such a Contempt of his Enemies, that he refus'd to listen to any amicable Overtures, and sent 'em back without granting 'em an Audience; whereupon the Emperor found himself oblig'd to Arm, and being strengthen'd with all the Forces he could draw together, he offer'd the *Bulgarians* Battel. The Dispute was very obstinate, and great Multitudes of Men fell on both sides, 'till at length *Crumus*, who was superior in Numbers, prevail'd, and routed the *Romans*, who fled at first in great Disorders; but *Leo*, who beheld all from an adjacent Eminence, observing that the *Bulgarians*, instead of pursuing their Enemies, were busied in pillaging their Camp, rally'd his Forces, and with a Reserve of Troops that contin'd unbroken, fell with great Fury upon the *Bulgarians*, renew'd the Fight, and obtain'd an entire Victory; great Numbers of the Enemy were taken Prisoners, and more found dead in the Field, among whom some reckon the King himself, who was slain by the Emperor's own Hand; others say he very narrowly escap'd with his Life, having receiv'd a Wound by an Arrow, and been beaten off his Horse. The *Bulgarians* were so weaken'd by

A great Battel in Thrace,

where the Bulgarians were beaten.

by this Overthrow, that they were forc'd to sit at home in Peace for a long time after.

The Reputation of this Victory, and the Vigilance of the Emperor, restrain'd the Incursions of the *Saracens* in the East during his Reign; and tho' he was a warlike active Prince, he chose rather to enjoy the Calm of an honourable Peace than trust to the Accidents of War; for which reason he took care to maintain a good Intelligence with his Neighbours. So that being, in a great measure, at Peace even with those Nations who had sworn an irreconcilable Enmity to the Empire, he was at leisure to reflect on the unhappy Disputes that divided the Church. The prosperous Course of his Affairs render'd him free and independent, and therefore he had an Opportunity of entring into the Merit of the Cause, without the necessity of founding his Authority upon the Interest either of the one or the other Party. They who had asserted the Worship of Images in the Church continu'd to maintain the Dispute with much Heat and Animosity, and had pursu'd the Argument so far, that they were scarce esteem'd Christians who had not adher'd to their Opinion. The Novelty of the Doctrine, and the Absurdity of it too, together with a Consideration of the private Designs, or Necessities of those among his Predecessors who espous'd it, and the undutiful Behaviour they met withal from the See of *Rome*, who had the Courage to oppose it, could not but raise in *Leo* an utter Aversion to it. There are many Things indifferent in themselves which either the Artifice of some, or the Ignorance of others, draw into pernicious Consequences: The Representation of Jesus Christ in the several Passages of his Life, together with that of the Saints and Martyrs, may serve to enliven the Affections of truly devout Christians; but when the Adoration of those Images is inforc'd as a necessary part of our Religion, instead of a lively Remembrance, and a grateful Commemoration; when those Honours are requir'd

to be paid to the Work of Mens Hands, which are only due to the everliving God; 'tis time then to pluck up that Tree by the Roots, which produces such venomous Fruit. So that without offering at those frivolous Motives *Baronius* hath cited from his infallible Authors, we may allow *Leo* had just reason to use his Authority, as he did, with so much Vigor to restrain so pestilent an Innovation. He enforc'd the Observance of the Council celebrated at *Constantinople* in the Year 754, under *Constantinus Copronymus*, and publish'd an Edict, wherein he absolutely prohibited the Divine Worship that had been paid to Images, and commanded 'em to be remov'd out of the Church, threatning those with Exile who disobey'd his Ordonnance. Accordingly *Nicephorus* the Patriarch was banish'd; and *Theodotus* the Monk, who is said to have encourag'd the Emperor in these Proceedings, was substituted in his Room: with *Nicephorus* likewise were banish'd *Nicetas* a Patrician, and one of the Empress *Irene*'s Relations, together with *Theodorus* an Abbot, and *Theophanes* the Historian; tho' we are told by *Baronius*, that all the rest but *Nicephorus*, who dy'd in Exile in the Year 828, were shortly after restor'd by the Emperor, who, partly by fair Promises, and partly by Menaces, had perswaded 'em to comply.

Leo opposes the Worship of Images.

A. D. 815.

These Proceedings entertain'd the Emperor the remaining part of his Reign, till the Behaviour of *Michael Balbus* forc'd him to provide for his own Security. This *Michael* had formerly serv'd as his Companion in the Wars, for which reason, when he came to be Emperor, he advanc'd him considerably in the Government, which he imputed not so much to *Leo*'s Favour as his own Desert: Among other Vices with which he was incumber'd, he had a most busie lavish Tongue, and would frequently, in common Discourse, reflect on the Emperor, threatning to depose him, and by force marry the Empress. Tho' *Leo* was frequently inform'd of *Michael*'s Presumption, yet,

yet, being averse both to Jealousie and Cruelty, his want of Caution procur'd his Ruin; knowing his talkative Distemper he imputed it to that, 'till repeated Provocations, and an apparent Conviction made him resolve to punish him. He had great Reason to think that what *Michael* had so freely utter'd proceeded rather from some wicked Design form'd between him and his Accomplices, as it afterwards appear'd when it was too late, than his usual vein of talking; wherefore he order'd him to be apprehended, and brought immediately to his Tryal, where the Evidence being found direct against him he was condemn'd, and sentenc'd to be burnt alive. The Tryal was on *Christmas*-Eve, and as the Officers were leading him up to Execution, *Theodosia* the Empress ran with an intemperate Fury to her Husband, whom she call'd Tyrant, and prophane, in that he could not abstain from Blood at a Time when he was about to partake of the Holy Sacrament. *Leo* being touch'd with the Sense of what she utter'd, and fearing to offend God, consented to a Reprieve, but commanded his Legs to be loaden with Irons, of which he kept the Keys himself, and committed him to the Custody of *Papia*, a Person whom he had highly oblig'd, and in whom therefore he thought he could with greatest safety confide; after which he upbraided his Wife for her unseasonable Passion, and told her *he had comply'd with her Desires, tho' he knew it would end in the Destruction of her and her Children.*

The Apprehensions of *Michael*'s Designs sunk so deep in the Emperor's Mind that he could not rest, but rose in great Consternation the Night following, and resolv'd to secure himself from the Traitor; accordingly he broke that Instant into *Papia*'s House, where he found the Prisoner lodg'd in a very rich Bed fast a sleep, and his Goaler resting on the Floor with equal Security by him. The distracted Emperor was so amaz'd at this unexpected Sight, that he retir'd without any Noise, resolving to punish both

the one and the other. This Midnight Visit was not made with so much Privacy, but the Emperor was discover'd by one of the Watch, who inform'd *Papia* of what he had observ'd, and by that means put both him and *Michael* upon their Guard. They could not but be sensible of the Danger they were in, and therefore resolv'd to provide for their own Safety by giving the first Blow. *Michael* had requested that some religious Person might be admitted to confer with him, which, out of respect to his Soul's Safety, the Emperor readily granted; this Man *Michael* sent to the Conspirators, and threaten'd, that unless by some speedy Blow they procur'd his Release, he would discover 'em all to *Leo*. The Conspirators being alarm'd at this Message, and sensible of the great Danger they were in, resolv'd to lose no Time, and mingled themselves with those who assisted at Divine Service in the Emperor's Chappel, and having hid their Daggers under their Habits, were early in the Morning admitted with them into the Palace; at first they dispos'd of themselves in a private Corner of the Chappel, 'till the Emperor came to his Devotions, and then at a certain Signal they fell upon him in the midst of Divine Service, and most barbarously murder'd him. At first they mistook the Dean of the Chappel for *Leo*, 'till he discover'd to 'em his bald Head, which secur'd his Life. *Leo*, foreseeing their Design, retir'd in the mean time to the Altar, where he defended himself for some time with great Bravery, 'till being at length overcome by the Numbers of his Enemies, who, without any regard to that sacred Place, were resolv'd to compleat what they had begun, he first lost his Hand in the Dispute, and at last his Head. This was the unhappy End of *Leo*, who deserv'd a better Fate, after he had govern'd the Empire with much Prudence and Reputation upwards of seven Years and a half. He was slain in the seventh Year of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, the fourth of Pope *Paschal*, *An. Dom.* 820.

Leo murder'd.

The

The Fury of the Conſpirators did not terminate in the Death of *Leo*; they ran with great Violence from the Chappel to the Court, where they ſeiz'd on the Empreſs *Theodoſia*, and ſhut her up in a Monaſtery, and forc'd her four Sons into the Iſland *Prota*, where by *Michael*'s Order they were afterwards caſtrated, in which cruel Operation the younger loſt his Life, and the elder his Speech. In the mean Time *Michael*, being now releas'd from his Priſon, was conducted in a tumultuous manner to the Imperial Throne, where he was ſaluted Emperor with the Shackles ſtill on his Feet, for the Key was no where to be found, ſo that at laſt they were forc'd to knock the Bolts off with a Hammer, after which he was crown'd in the great Church by the Hands of the Patriarch. MICHAEL II.

Tho' the Death of *Leo* was very much regretted by the generality of the People, who eſteem'd him as a prudent, moderate and valiant Emperor, yet the great Patrons of Images exclaim'd againſt him in the moſt bitter Terms imaginable, comparing him to *Ahab*, *Julian* the Apoſtate, and other Monſters in Hiſtory; and at the ſame Time loaded his Succeſſor, who had caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated, with the higheſt Encomiums, calling him *the promis'd of God*, *a ſecond* David, *another* Joſias, *the King of Peace*, and the like: But this good Humour did not continue long towards him; for when they found he had entertain'd the ſame Averſion to Image-Worſhip his Predeceſſor had done before him, then they very induſtriouſly enquir'd into all his ill Qualities, and would allow him to be Maſter of none that were good.

At firſt he recall'd great Numbers of Biſhops and Monks that had been baniſh'd by *Leo*, and ſummon'd them to a Council to be held at *Conſtantinople*, together with thoſe that differ'd from 'em in Opinion, there to diſpute the Point in queſtion; but the Champions refus'd to enter into any Conference with their Adverſaries, declaring that what they maintain'd was

built upon such firm Foundations of Truth, that it could admit of no Dispute. Tho' 'tis very likely they declin'd to enter the Lists upon no other Account, but because they knew themselves unable to support their Cause by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers. However it were, this Obstinacy very much displeas'd the Emperor, who was once inclinable, in some measure, to gratifie them; notwithstanding which he proceeded with no Rigour against them, but indulg'd 'em the use of Images, provided it was without the Imperial City. In the mean Time the Emperor himself entertain'd very absurd Notions in Religion. He was born at *Amorium*, a City of *Phrygia*, which was inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, and such Christians who for their Heretical Opinions had been driven from their Native Habitations, between whom arose a medly in Religion, with which *Michael* was infected in his Youth, and carry'd the Infection with him to his Grave; among other Absurdities he kept the *Jewish* Sabbath, and deny'd the Resurrection of the Dead. Upon this Account it's no wonder if his whole Reign was infested with Wars and Troubles, and the Infidels abridg'd him both of his Honour and his Empire.

A Civil War rais'd by Thomas.

The first Disturbance he met with in the Beginning of his Reign was from a Civil War, bloody and expensive, rais'd by *Thomas*, a Man of great Power in the East, of whom mention was made before; as soon as he heard that *Leo*, his great Benefactor, was murder'd by *Michael*, he took Arms, and in a short Time rais'd a very considerable Army, compos'd of some who follow'd him out of Love to his Person, others out of a Disaffection to *Michael*, and of the rest whom the hopes of Plunder had allur'd into the Field. *Thomas* was naturally ambitious, but was withal Master of many good Qualities, which seem'd to favour his Ambition; the Gravity of his Aspect commanded an Esteem from all that beheld him,

him, at the same Time that his Eloquence and Affability made him be belov'd by all that heard him, a Quality which render'd him exceeding grateful to the Soldiers, who besides admir'd him for his vast Strength and admirable Courage.

These Advantages soon made him Master of most of the Eastern Provinces, where he seiz'd on the Publick Revenue, and having wasted *Asia* in a most miserable manner, he took the whole Region, except a few Provinces whom their Affection to the Emperor, and the valiant Conduct of *Olbianus* and *Catacelas*, two of *Michael's* Commanders, had maintain'd against him.

These Civil Embroilments encourag'd the *Saracens* to take Arms, and with their usual Fury break into the Territories of the Empire, at which *Thomas* was extreamly affected, for he was afraid lest his Men would desert him, and return to the Defence of their own Possessions; at first therefore he restrain'd the Incursions of the *Barbarians* by a sudden Onset, and then charm'd 'em with a Promise that he would fight in their behalf, and submit such Territories of the Empire, as he should conquer, to their Command. Having, by this means, diverted a Storm that hung over him, he assum'd the Imperial Authority, and in every respect acted as Emperor. He strengthen'd his Army by new Levies, drawn not only out of the adjacent Parts, but from among the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, and other Nations most remote. At the same Time he chang'd his Name for that of *Constantine*, and omitted nothing requisite to the Support of that Title he had usurp'd. By this Time he was grown strong enough to make Head against the Forces the Emperor had sent to surprize him, and was so fortunate in an Engagement with them, that he gave them a total Defeat; and very industriously pursuing the Course of his Fortunes he fitted out a strong Fleet, with which he master'd the Emperor's Navy, and march-

ing at the Head of eighty thousand Men, appointed *Lesbos* for the Place of general Rendezvous. *Michael*, who beheld the prodigious Progress he made against him, reinforc'd all his Garrisons, and endeavour'd to confirm the Soldiers by fair Words and bountiful Presents, notwithstanding which he was no sooner return'd back to *Constantinople*, and *Thomas* by the Opportunity of a dark Night got over into *Thrace*, before they revolted, and follow'd the Usurper to the Siege of the Imperial City. *Thomas*, like a Torrent, bearing down all before him both by Sea and Land, had promis'd himself that the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* would open their Gates to him at his first Approach, but, on the contrary, was much surpriz'd when he saw they receiv'd him with a very vigorous Opposition, and most opprobrious Language. This Union and Resolution in the Inhabitants very much distracted him, and tho' he had been twice repuls'd, he was resolv'd to try his Fortune once more, and to storm the City both by Sea and Land. Accordingly he dispers'd his Orders with much Caution and Sagacity, and omitted nothing that might strike Terror into the Inhabitants, and force 'em to surrender, when on a sudden a violent Storm arose, which dissipated his Ships by Sea, and render'd his battering Engines useless and ungovernable. This Disappointment, and some successful Sallies of the Besieg'd, together with the Approach of Winter, forc'd him to raise his Siege with a Resolution to return again in the Beginning of the Spring; but Fortune, which had hitherto attended him with Success in all his Undertakings, began now to forsake him. *Michael* had Time, during this Recess, to furnish himself with a Fleet, and a Land Army, so that the Tyrant, at his Return, met with greater Opposition than he had done before.

Thomas had an experienc'd Commander in his Army call'd *Gregory*, who being nearly related to *Leo*, the late Emperor, had been banish'd by *Michael* into

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the Island *Scirus*, one of the *Cyclades*, for which Reason, at the Beginning of the War, he declar'd for the Usurper, who put a great Confidence in him; but now, observing how the Face of Affairs began to change, he listen'd to the Emperor's Sollicitations, and resolv'd to make his Peace with *Michael*, and the rather, because his Wife and Children were in his Hands. This Negotiation was not carry'd on so privately, but that *Thomas* had timely Notice of it; he knew his Design was to desert to the Emperor with that part of the Army which he commanded; but as he was marching away, and before the Emperor could receive the News of his Revolt, he left a sufficient Number of his Troops to maintain the Siege, and with the rest fell upon *Gregory*, defeated his whole Party, and took him alive, but put him instantly to Death, and then return'd in great Triumph back to the Siege, where as great Rejoycings were made as if he had obtain'd a mighty Victory, which was more than over-ballanc'd by the Loss of his best Ships, which were burnt, sunk, or taken by the Emperor's Fleet.

In the mean Time *Mortagon*, King of the *Bulgarians*, had been inform'd that *Michael* was block'd up by his own Subjects in the Capital of his Empire, and, pitying rather the Dignity than Person of the Emperor, sent private Messengers to him, who encourag'd him with Promises of a speedy Relief from their Master, who accordingly march'd against *Thomas*, tho' the Emperor had endeavour'd to dissuade him from the Expedition, either for that he was unwilling to have his Country wasted by another Army, or that a Reward answerable to so seasonable and friendly an Assistance, would too much exhaust his Treasury, in the improving of which he equall'd, if not exceeded, the most covetous of his Predecessors. When *Thomas* heard of the *Bulgarians* Approach he was uncertain what Measures to take; he knew himself unable to oppose them, and at the same Time

who is overthrown by the Bulgarians,

continue the Siege, and which of the two Expedients was the beſt, he could not eaſily determine; at length he reſolv'd to fight the *Bulgarians*, by whom he was overthrown, loſing his Camp, and all his Equipage. After this his Party declin'd every Day. When his Fleet, which lay before *Conſtantinople*, had receiv'd News of his Defeat, it deſerted to the Emperor, and the Reſidue of his Army watch'd all Opportunities of forſaking him. At firſt he pretended to continue the Siege, but when he found all his Attempts ineffectual, he rais'd it, and encamp'd at a Place call'd *Diabaſis*, ſome Furlongs diſtant from the City, from whence he waſted all the Country round about. His Retreat from the City, and the Havock he made in the Territories of it, at once encourag'd and provok'd the Emperor to ſend an Army out againſt him, which he receiv'd with great Bravery, but was overthrown rather by the Treachery of his own Soldiers, than the Valour of his Enemies. The Fortune of this Battel drove him to *Adrianople*, where, with ſuch as had Courage and Fidelity enough to follow him, he was block'd up by the Emperor's Forces, till at length his own People, after they had endur'd unſpeakable Hardſhips, deliver'd him up bound to the Emperor, who cut off his Hands and Legs, and then ſhew'd him upon an Aſs to all the Camp. *Michael* had a great Mind to know from him, if any of his own Servants or Officers underhand favour'd the Rebellion, had not *John Exabulius*, the Patrician, adviſ'd him not to truſt an Enemy with the Accuſation of his Friends; ſo that *Thomas* dy'd of his Torments without being ſuffer'd to impeach any one, which it's thought he was very ready to have done. The War did not end immediately with the Death of *Thomas*, ſome Cities and Caſtles, which had either been ſeiz'd by him, or declar'd for him, continu'd to hold out for ſome Time; but at length they were all reduc'd either by Force, Treachery, or ſome other Accident, and the Civil War was extinguiſh'd on every ſide.

and ſlain.

A. D. 822.

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As this War was fierce and bloody in it self, so was it attended with several publick Calamities, as well in *Europe* as *Asia*; nothing was more frequent than unexpected Fires, sudden and destructive Earthquakes, civil Broils, Destruction of Cities, Signs in the Heavens, Desolations on the Earth, with whatever else God in his Anger inflicts on the Sons of Men, all which is attributed by *Cedrenus* to the Contempt of Images. And as if the Empire suffer'd not enough at home, it was at the same Time assaulted by a dangerous Enemy from abroad, who lopp'd off a considerable Member from it. The *Saracens* were now grown so numerous in *Spain*, that they began to look on the Country as too narrow for 'em: Wherefore observing the distracted Condition of the Empire, and that *Michael* was so closely press'd by *Thomas*, that he was hardly at leisure to defend a Part, when he was in danger of losing the whole, they sail'd under the Conduct of their Prince in search of some fruitful Island belonging to the Emperor, which might encourage 'em to plant a Colony in it. They ravag'd with an insolent Barbarity most of the Islands in the *Mediterranean*, and at length touch'd upon that of *Crete*, meeting with no Opposition, for all the Ships and Garrisons were gone off to assist *Thomas*. The Prince was taken with the Pleasantness and Fertility of *Crete*, so that he return'd the Spring following with a Fleet consisting of forty Ships well furnish'd with Soldiers, and landed upon the Island; he encamp'd on the Promontory *Charax*, and from thence sent Spies out to discover the Country, and in the mean Time set Fire to all his Ships, to take from his Followers any Thoughts of a Return.

The Emperor, being advertis'd of this Descent, sent a sufficient Number of Troops, under the command of *Damianus*, to drive the *Saracens* out of the Island. *Damianus*, being join'd with *Photinus*, Præfect of the East, gave the *Saracens* Battel, who at the first Onset kill'd *Damianus*, and routed the whole Army; *The Saracens settle in Crete.*

my; after which they met with none to oppose 'em, but having built a City near a Commodious Port, which they call'd *Candia*, and which, in a great Measure, commanded the whole Island, they by degrees took in the rest of the Towns, and carefully intruded their Superstitions where-ever they planted their Arms. Thus *Crete* at once lost her Liberty, and her ancient Name, for her new Masters call'd the whole Island *Candia*, after the Name of the City before mention'd.

Michael, having put an end to the Civil Wars, thought it would be a great Blemish to his Reign, if he suffer'd the *Saracens* to settle in *Crete*; whereupon he sent away *Craterus* with a considerable Fleet to recover the Island. *Craterus* landed his Men without any Opposition, and fell very briskly upon the Enemy, who receiv'd him with an equal Resolution. The Fight continu'd from Day-break 'till Noon, and as yet no Discovery could be made on which side the Victory enclin'd, but towards the Evening the *Romans* had visibly the Advantage; and the *Saracens*, many of whom were Slain, and others taken Prisoners, fled away in great Disorder. Had the *Romans* pursu'd their Point, the City it self had fallen into their Hands, but they thinking it time enough the next Day to put an end to the War, which they already judg'd to be in a great measure concluded, spent the Night in Riot and Drunkenness, not so much as setting a Watch to observe the Enemy's Motions; who, tho' very much broken and fatigu'd by the Labours of the preceding Day, would not omit an Opportunity which the Indiscretion of their Enemies had so favourably presented 'em; they fell upon 'em with great Fury, as they lay in their Camp fetter'd with Wine and Sleep, and cut 'em all off, hardly suffering one to escape to give the Emperor an Account of their Expedition, except the General himself, who, getting on Board a Merchantman, escap'd to the Isle of *Coos*, where

A. D. 827.

where notwithstanding he was shortly after surpriz'd and nail'd to a Cross by the *Saracens*. After this Defeat the Emperor contented himself with restraining the insolent Piracies of these *Saracens*, who continu'd in Possession of the Island 'till the Year 897, at which Time it was recover'd by *Basilius* the Emperor, as it will be made appear in its proper Place.

Notwithstanding these severe Calamities, which fill'd up every Hour of this unfortunate Emperor's Reign, he led a loose dissolute Life, without any regard to Religion, or the Laws. Having lately bury'd his Wife, he had a great Desire to Marry again, and that it might be thought to be done at the Request, and for the Benefit of his People, he prevail'd with some of the leading Men in the Senate to petition him to it, as a Thing highly conducing to the Safety of the State; and having cast his Eyes on *Euphrosina*, one of *Constantine* the Son of *Irene*'s Daughters, he forc'd her out of a Convent, where, from her Infancy, she had led a recluse Life, and marry'd her. This Action prov'd of very dangerous Consequence to the Empire, for *Euphemius*, a Man of great Interest and Authority in the Army, falling in Love, after the Example of his Master, with another of these devoted Virgins, forc'd her out of her Monastery, and debauch'd her. Her Brothers, as soon as they heard of this Irreligious Outrage, loudly complain'd of it to the Emperor, who commanded the Governor of *Sicily*, where the Fact was committed, to examine into the Matter, and if he found what was alledg'd against him true, then to cut off the Offender's Nose. *Euphemius*, who little expected to have been proceeded against with so much Severity, drew several other of the Officers into a Conspiracy with him, and easily repuls'd the Governor when he came to execute his Orders; after which he fled into *Africk*, where he promis'd the *Saracen* Governor of that Place to betray *Sicily* into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute,

bute, provided he would declare him Emperor, and assist him with Forces sufficient to make good his Title. To this the *Saracen* readily consented, and having supply'd him with a good Number of Troops he declar'd him Emperor, and sent him back to make good his Promise. With these Forces he landed in *Sicily*, and travers'd round the Island in order to persuade the Inhabitants to receive him for their Prince; but when he came toward *Syracuse* he endeavour'd, in a flattering Speech, to persuade the Inhabitants, who stood on the Walls, to declare for him. Among the rest he observ'd two Brothers, who were Men of great Authority in the City, that seem'd to pay him more Respect, and hear him with more Attention than the rest; at which being highly pleas'd he call'd 'em to him, and advanc'd from the rest of his Company to salute the foremost of them, who caught him by the Hair of his Head, whilst the other cut it off. Tho' *Euphemius* had thus miscarry'd in his own Designs, the *Saracens* would not quit the Advantage he had put into their Hands; for being thus introduc'd by him, they got Possession not only of that Island, but of *Calabria*, and other adjacent Parts, wasting all with Fire and Sword.

Euphemius declar'd Emperor by the Saracens,

and is murder'd.

Such as these were the most remarkable Transactions during this Emperor's Reign, which makes the Report of those, who affirm he dy'd of Madness, the more credible: He was undoubtedly a very unfortunate Prince, happy only in this, that his Son succeeded him in the Empire, a Thing which had not been observ'd for a long Time before. He was more Valiant than Wise, and in every Respect fitter for the Camp than the Court, tho' he was fitter to obey than command in either. He dy'd on the First of *October*, *An. Dom.* 829, after he had reign'd Eight Years and Six Months.

Michael dies.

A. D. 829.

So soon as *Michael* was dead, *Theophilus*, his Son, was universally declar'd and acknowledg'd Emperor, the Heir at once of his Father's Honours, and En-

Theophilus succeeds him.

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mity to Images: His very Enemies allow him to have been a strict Observer of Justice, and a severe Asserter of the Laws of the Empire. He was so far from approving the Murder of *Leo*, tho' his Father ow'd both his Life and Dignity to it, that he resolv'd to punish all those who had been Accomplices in it; to which Purpose, by a publick Edict, he summon'd the chief of the Nobility, and great Officers of the Empire, to wait on him in the Palace call'd *Magnaura*, or *Pentapyrgium*, where, when they were assembled, he told 'em with a sedate Air, *That his Father had design'd, in his Life-time, to distinguish those with particular Marks of his Favour, who had been instrumental in his Promotion; and since Death had prevented him, he was oblig'd, as his Executor, to pay the Debt. For which reason he desir'd them to withdraw from the rest into a peculiar Place, where he would examine the particular Merit of each Person, and reward 'em accordingly.* Hereupon they who had been concern'd in the Death of *Leo*, discover'd themselves with great Chearfulness, and were all by the Emperor's Order punish'd as Murderers. After this he sent *Euphrosyne* back to the Monastery from whence his Father had taken her, and apply'd himself with great Diligence to the Government of the State. His Wars with the *Saracens* were many, and carry'd on with various Success: And tho' in the end the Fortune of the Infidels prevail'd, he made it appear, by the happy Choice of his Captains, that he could distinguish, and knew how to prefer Men of Worth and Conduct. *Alexius Moseles*, an *Armenian* by Birth, had marry'd one of his Daughters. This Man was beautiful in his Person, and of a solid Judgment, upon which Account he advanc'd him to the highest Offices in the Empire; and having as yet no Son to succeed him, he at last created him *Cæsar*, and sent him, at the Head of a numerous Army, against the *Saracens*, who rag'd with great Fury in *Italy*. *Alexius* his Conduct in that Employment was highly

ly approv'd by all but these who repin'd at his good Fortune, who represented him as an ambitious Person, and one who had a Design upon the Empire. These their Suggestions they endeavour'd to strengthen with an old Prophecy, which intimated that A. *should depose* Th. Tho' this Emperor is thought by some to have been too much addicted himself to the Art of foretelling, yet he gave no Ear to those Insinuations, but continu'd *Alexius* in his Favour. And when *Alexius*, being inform'd of what had been practis'd against him, desir'd leave to retire to a Monastick Life, the Emperor refus'd his Request; and commanded him to retain the Rank and Power he had in the Empire, and that as well because he would not so far injure his Daughter, as because he did not believe what had been alledged against him. However *Theophilus* having a Son shortly after, and his Daughter dying much about the same Time, he very unwillingly consented to the repeated Importunities of *Alexius*, and appointed him such Places as he thought would be most convenient for his Retirement.

This generous Confidence and Magnanimity in *Theophilus*, made him belov'd by all the Men of Worth in his Empire, so that his Armies were generally supply'd with experienc'd Commanders, tho' none appear'd so eminent in his Service as *Manuel* and *Theophobus*, the Variety of whose Fortunes make not the least Figure in this Emperor's Reign. *Manuel* had serv'd in very eminent Posts under former Emperors, and *Theophobus* was the base Son of a *Persian* Ambassador, descended from the Blood Royal of that Nation, who, dying in his Embassy, left him an Infant at *Constantinople*, where he was entertain'd in the Imperial Palace, and educated after the manner of the *Romans*. The continual Wars between the *Saracens* and the *Persians* had driven away, or destroy'd, all those of the Royal House in *Persia*, for which reason the few *Persians* that surviv'd the Calamities

Inhabitants of their Country sent to the Emperor, and desir'd *Theophobus* for their King; which *Theophilus* refus'd, chusing rather to make him a Patrician, and marry him to one of his Sisters. At the same time he gave his Subjects leave to marry with the *Persians*, which brought many of that Nation over, who listed themselves into his Army, and were form'd into one Body, call'd the *Persian* Legion; from whence the Emperor promis'd himself no small Service in the Expedition he was preparing against the *Saracens*, who had lately invaded and wasted the Territories of the Empire, for which reason the Emperor resolv'd to chastise 'em. When both Armies came within view of each other, and the Enemy were consulting whether it was adviseable to fight, *Manuel* advis'd the Emperor not to engage in Person, affirming it to be below his Dignity to contend with one so much inferior to him as was the General of the *Saracens*. This was oppos'd by *Theophobus*, to whom the Emperor inclin'd, and the next Morning both Armies came to a Battel, which lasted very long, 'till at length the *Roman* Legions gave Ground and fled, leaving the Emperor with his Guard, two thousand *Persians*, and *Theophobus* upon an Hill, where they were surrounded by the *Saracens*, who labour'd hard to take him Prisoner, and his own Men were as resolute to defend him. Night coming on put an end to the Contention, and when it was dark the Soldiers, by *Theophobus* his Order, fill'd the Air with loud Acclamations, and made so great a Noise with their Trumpets, and other warlike Instruments, that the *Saracens*, deceiv'd by the Stratagem, concluded they had receiv'd some Relief, and retreated to a great distance for fear of being surrounded, by which means the Emperor escap'd to the rest of the Army. This seasonable Stratagem very much rais'd *Theophobus* his Reputation, which endear'd him more than ever to his Countrymen, and made 'em petition the Emperor that they might act against the *Saracens* in a separate Body under his

The Emperor in great Danger.

Conduct, and so far prevail'd that the Emperor would suffer no one else to command 'em.

The ill Success of this Expedition serv'd only to make the Emperor more vigorous in Preparations for
A. D. the next Campaign, in which his Armies were
833. crown'd with a glorious Success: For he gain'd an entire Victory over the Infidels, kill'd great Numbers upon the Spot, and took above twenty thousand Prisoners, whom he carry'd in great Triumph to *Constantinople*. This encourag'd him to make another Attempt the Spring following; but his Army was defeated by the *Saracens*, and he himself in great Danger of being taken Prisoner; for in the Heat of the Action he advanc'd, with a Body of his Troops, too far into the Enemies Ranks; when *Manuel*, considering what a Disgrace it would be to the *Roman* Name and Empire to have the Emperor taken Prisoner, broke through to him, and found him weary'd and in Despair. *Manuel* entreated the Emperor to follow him, whilst he open'd his way through the thickest of his Enemies, which *Theophilus* declin'd, alledging he should discourage his Army by his Flight; which when *Manuel*, who was advanc'd forward in order to open his way for him, perceiv'd, he return'd back, and with his Sword directed at him threaten'd to kill him, unless he follow'd, declaring *the State would suffer more in his Captivity, than his Death*, by which Loyal Menace he brought him off. *Manuel*, upon this, was esteem'd his Deliverer, and the Emperor had a just Sense of the Service he had done him, but unhappily gave Ear to those who envy'd his Reputation, and like other Princes, inclin'd to depress him, whom he was not able to reward according to his Deserts. Some of *Theophilus* his Flatterers had represented *Manuel* to the Emperor, as one who was preparing for an Usurpation, whereupon it was privately determin'd to deprive him of his Sight; of which when *Manuel* was by a faithful Friend inform'd, he fled over to the *Saracens*, and upon Condition he should not be constrain'd

ſtrain'd to renounce his Religion, he enter'd himſelf into their Service. The Reception the *Saracens* gave *Manuel* makes it evident how much a Man of Worth is eſteem'd, even by his Enemies. They advanc'd him to the higheſt Rank of Honour and Command, entruſted him with the Conduct of their Armies againſt their Neighbours with whom they were at War, and did nothing without the Advice and Approbation of *Manuel*, who no way wrong'd the high Truſt repos'd in him, but in all Reſpects acquitted himſelf with Honour and Reputation.

The Fame of his great Authority, and greater Services among the *Saracens*, quickly flew to *Conſtantinople*, and made the Emperor lament the Loſs of a faithful Servant that had been the Support, and an Ornament to the State, and deſerv'd better Uſage from him. He was ſenſible that all the Honours he receiv'd from his Enemies blacken'd him with Ingratitude, and that it became him, as a Prince and Chriſtian, to recover him from the Infidels. To this Purpoſe he entruſted one of thoſe Itinerant Monks, who frequently rov'd about the World in thoſe Days, with a Meſſage to him. *Manuel* himſelf, tho' adorn'd with all the Favours the *Saracens* could confer upon him, conſider'd himſelf as no other than a glorious Exile, and ſtill retain'd an invincible Love to his Native Country, from whence the Jealouſie of his Maſter, enflam'd by the Artifices of his Enemies, had unjuſtly driven him, ſo that he lent a ready Ear to the Meſſage of the Monk, who preſented him with Letters from the Emperor ſtrengthen'd with a Seal of Gold and a Croſs. *Manuel* was extreamly pleas'd with the Invitation the Emperor had made him, and waited only for an Opportunity that might favour his Return, which was effected after this manner. He deſir'd leave of *Iſhmael*, at that time Prince of the *Saracens*, to march againſt the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, where, he ſaid, he ſhould have an occaſion of revenging himſelf upon thoſe who had unjuſtly accus'd

him to the Emperor. The *Saracens*, who hitherto could never prevail with him to fight againſt his Countrymen, were glad of the Overture, and ſent him away at the Head of a compleat Army, attended by the young Prince *Iſhmael*'s Son. The Governour of *Cappadocia* had before-hand been prepar'd to receive him, ſo that being arriv'd at the Place deſir'd, and having withdrawn at a convenient diſtance from the Army, under a Pretence of Hunting, he adviſ'd the young Prince, who accompany'd him, to retire back to the *Saracens*, and acquaint them with the Reſolution he had taken of returning home. Being arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* he was receiv'd with great Solemnity by the Emperor, who conferr'd on him the higheſt Honours of the Empire, and made him ſtand as God-father to his Son *Michael*, whom he ſhortly after inveſted with the Imperial Purple. The *Saracens* were no leſs offended than the Emperor was pleas'd at his Return, ſo that they prepar'd to expreſs their Reſentments the Spring following, in which however nothing memorable was tranſacted on either ſide, for both Armies were ſeiz'd with a Panick Fear, and concluded the Campaign without coming to an Engagement.

The Year following *Theophilus* invaded *Syria*, which he waſted as he march'd along, and having made himſelf Maſter of ſome of their ſtrongeſt Forts, and taken a great Number of Priſoners, he return'd to *Conſtantinople*; leaving *Theophobus* to maintain his new Conqueſts, and command the Army. But now the *Perſians*, who were encreas'd to thirty thouſand Men, began to diſdain a Subjection to any Prince but one of their own Nation, and therefore in a mutinous manner ſeiz'd on *Theophobus* at *Sinope*, and declar'd him Emperor. At firſt he us'd all the Arguments and Entreaties he could to divert 'em from it, but when he found it was to no purpoſe, he outwardly ſeem'd to accept of the Honour, but privately gave *Theophilus* an Aſſurance of his Averſeneſs to it, and eſcap'd with the

The Perſians *Mutiny.*

the first Opportunity to *Constantinople*, where he was caress'd in a high degree by the Emperor, who continu'd all his Honours to him. The *Persians*, being thus disappointed of their Prince, begg'd Pardon of *Theophilus*, who receiv'd 'em into Favour; but, to prevent the like Attempts for the future, he dispers'd them, by two thousand in a Body, into several remote Provinces, under their proper Officers.

Theophilus, in the late Ravage he had made in *Syria*, had, contrary to the earnest Request of the Prince of the *Saracens*, destroy'd *Sozopetra*, the Place of his Nativity; at which he was so enrag'd, that breathing nothing but Revenge, he rais'd a mighty Army compos'd of many Nations, as well of *Africk*, as in the East, and having commanded every Soldier to impress on his Target the Word *Amorium*, the Birth-place of *Theophilus*, he resolv'd never to sheath his Sword till he had destroy'd it. The Emperor, being inform'd of these mighty Preparations, march'd with what Forces he could raise to *Dorylæum*, a Town in *Phrygia-major*, about three Days Journey from *Amorium*. There having call'd a Council of War, he was advis'd, by several of his Officers, to decline an Engagement with the *Saracens*, whose Army exceeded his in Numbers, and translate the Inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other Place. The Emperor, imagining such a Proceeding would reflect upon his Honour, resolv'd to venture all in the Defence and Protection of it, and accordingly sent *Aetius*, General of the East, with a strong Party to command in it. The Prince of the *Saracens* had muster'd all his Forces at *Tarsus*, where he resolv'd not to march on directly to *Amorium*, but to send his Son with part of the Army to try the Strength of the Emperor's Forces, and take such Measures afterwards, as should be suitable to the Success of that Attempt. The young Prince march'd at the Head of ten thousand *Turks*, and a strong Party of *Armenians*, to a Place call'd *Dazymenum*,

where both Armies came to an Engagement. At first the Fortune of the Day seem'd to incline to the *Romans*, but in the Pursuit they were so exceedingly gaul'd by the Arrows of the *Turks*, that they who just before seem'd secure of the Victory turn'd back in great Confusion, and left the Emperor to the Defence of the *Persians*, who encompass'd him round, and with much Courage labour'd to preserve him. However he had infallibly been lost had not Night come upon 'em, and some Rain fallen, which render'd the *Turkish* Bow-strings of no use, and gave the Imperialists an Opportunity to Retreat. *Manuel*, who had the Command of the Watch, observ'd the *Persians* discoursing in their own Language with the *Saracens* about betraying the *Roman* Army, and returning into their own Country. Of this he immediately inform'd the Emperor, and advis'd him to consult his own Safety, who accordingly retreated to *Chiliocomum*.

The Romans overthrown by the Saracens,

In the mean Time the Prince of the *Saracens*, being inform'd of his Son's Success, march'd directly to *Amorium*, and, being joyn'd by the young Prince in his March, he laid close Siege to it. The Defendants supported themselves with a resolute Bravery, but the Emperor, doubtful of the Event, and earnestly desiring to preserve the City, sent a Messenger with very rich Presents to the *Saracen*, desiring him to desist: But the Prince, instead of being diverted from his Design, order'd the Messenger to be secur'd, that he might be a Witness of the Issue, and attack'd the Place more vigorously than before. Notwithstanding which the Defendants made a very obstinate Resistance, and had they not been betray'd by some among themselves, the Town had not so easily been taken. But *Badiates*, one of the Inhabitants, having upon some Discontent abjur'd the Christian Religion, embrac'd an advantagious Offer made him by the Infidels, inform'd 'em in which Part the Walls were weakest, and might be

who Besieges Amorium,

be most commodiously attack'd, whereupon ensu'd a miserable Slaughter of the Garrison and Inhabitants; for the *Saracens*, being enrag'd at their resolute Opposition, and the Loss they had sustain'd in the Siege, behav'd themselves with the utmost Cruelty. Most of the Men were put to the Sword, and all the Women and Children led into Captivity. The City, the most beautiful of all the East, and the Capital of *Cilicia*, was levell'd with the Ground, after which the Emperor's Messenger was in an insulting manner dismiss'd, with an Account of what had past, to his Master. *which is taken and destroy'd.*

Theophilus was so sensibly touch'd with the Destruction of this Place, that he was seiz'd with an excessive Melancholy. However he resolv'd, if possible, to be reveng'd upon the Infidels, and sent *Theodosius*, a Patrician, into *France* to crave the Assistance of that Nation. But *Theodosius* dy'd by the way, and, in all probability, had he arriv'd at the *French* Court, his Negotiation would have been unsuccessful; for the *French* at that Time were too much entroil'd among themselves to be able to send any Assistance into the East. In the mean Time *Theophilus* grew so dejected as to abstain from Nourishment, drinking nothing but Snow-water, which threw him into a Dysentery that ended his Days. Finding the weak Condition he was in, he was carry'd in a Litter to *Magnaura*, where, having summon'd the Senate and chief Officers of the Empire to meet him, he exhorted 'em, in a most moving Speech, to continue faithful to his Wife and Son, and protect 'em from Treachery. They heard him with the greatest Sorrow, and vow'd to spend their Lives and Fortunes in the Service and Defence of his Family. After which, sinking under the Oppression of his Mind, and Distemper of his Body, he quitted this Life, having reign'd twelve Years, and almost four Months. Before his Death some about him, Enemies to the Worth of *Theophobus*, perswaded the Emperor that the late Revolt of the *Persians* *The Death of Theophilus.* A.D. 842.

ans was contriv'd by him the better to favour his Ambitious Designs, and that if he had any regard to his Posterity, he ought not to survive him; whereupon the infirm diffident Prince commanded his Head to be struck off, and brought to him, which the Moment he was expiring he touch'd with his Hand, and breath'd out his last with these Words, *Thou art now no longer* Theophobus, *nor I* Theophilus.

His Character.

This was the End of a Prince, who in many Things was to be admir'd, in few to be reprehended, unless his Enmity to the Worship of Images was a Fault in him. They who tax him with that, allow him to have been an exact Observer of Justice, and utter Enemy to Covetousness, and all sumptuous Superfluities, of which *Cedrenus* gives us a remarkable Instance. He saith, that observing from his Palace Wall a Ship of great Burden, and richly laden, entring the Port at *Constantinople*, he ask'd to whom the Cargo belong'd; and when he was inform'd that his Empress *Theodora* was Mistress of it, he commanded both Ship and Cargo to be burnt, declaring, *He would have his Wife know he was an Emperor, and no Merchant.* He was a great Benefactor to the City of *Constantinople*, which he beautify'd with many magnificent Buildings, strengthen'd with new Walls, and purg'd from a great Company of Curtisans that practis'd daily in it. He dy'd in the second Year of *Lothaire* the Emperor, and fifteenth of *Gregory*, the fourth Pope of *Rome*, A. D. 842.

Theophilus, at his Death, had constituted *Manuel* and *Theoctistus* Tutors to his Son, who was then but six Years of Age; but the Regency was vested in his Mother *Theodora*, who being an active ambitious Princess, and willing to perpetuate her Authority, took care to associate such with her Son as would humour him in his youthful Inclinations, encourage him in his Pleasures, and keep him insensible of the Pleasures of Power and Dominion, all which, in the issue, brought unspeakable Calamities to the State. Nor was this the only Thing in which she resembled *Irene*, but in her

Zeal for Images. Women naturally are inclinable to Superstition, which gave Birth to those many Errors that crept into the Church. She expell'd *John*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who she thought would oppose her Designs, and establish'd *Methodius*, a Monk, in his Place; after which she industriously apply'd her self to the Restauration of Images, enforc'd the Observance of the Second Council of *Nice*, and rais'd a grievous Persecution against the *Manichees* in the East, which created an horrible Combustion in the Empire. The Officers she employ'd in the Inquisition acted with the greatest Cruelty, nailing some to Crosses, and making others die under unspeakable Torments. No less than an hundred thousand Persons were by those means destroy'd, which drove the rest into an obstinate Rebellion. For *Carbeas*, a Commander in the East, and a zealous *Manichee*, hearing how his Father had been ignominiously crucify'd, fled with four thousand Men of the same Persuasion over to the *Saracens*, to whom they open'd a Passage into the East, where, without Intermission, they committed all manner of Hostilities. *Baronius* his Account of this great Revolution in Matters relating to Religion, which he had built upon the Authority of his infallible Author, is too fabulous to deserve any room here. The reclaiming of those he calls Hereticks, was attended with no less Miracles than the Conversion of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* to Christianity in the early Days of the Gospel. *Theodora* spent the whole Time of her Administration, which continu'd for fourteen Years, in these Affairs of the Church, in the mean Time permitting the Enemies of the Empire to destroy whole Provinces, and suffering her Son to indulge himself in all the dissolute Pleasures his unrestrain'd Youth could prompt him to, or a luxurious Court afford. Notwithstanding which unhappy Artifice, the young Emperor, as he encreas'd in Years, so did he begin to be touch'd with a Desire to Rule, in which he was encourag'd by *Bardas*, *Theodora*'s Brother, who thought he had

not

not a sufficient Authority under his Sister's Administration, and promis'd himself mighty Advantage from a Turn of Affairs. He knew it impossible for him to succeed in his Designs so long as *Manuel* and *Theoctistus* continu'd near the Emperor's Person. It happen'd very unluckily that some Misunderstanding arose between those two Great Men, which *Bardas*, with much Dexterity, so artfully manag'd, that *Manuel* quitted the Court, and retir'd to a private Life, and this open'd a way to *Theoctistus* his Ruin. *Bardas*'s chief Instrument was the Emperor's School-Master, a very covetous, stubborn, arrogant Person, who had entertain'd an irreconcileable Aversion to *Theoctistus*, for that he oppos'd the young Prince, who had a Desire to prefer his unworthy Master to an Office, for which he was in no measure qualify'd; so that the School-Master, animated by Revenge, and supported by *Bardas*, continually alarm'd the Emperor with the Dangers he was to apprehend from *Theoctistus*, who had no less a Design than to marry either the Empress her self, or one of her Daughters, and pluck out his Eyes, thereby to make him incapable of the Empire. The young Prince easily believ'd whatever was offer'd against a Man, whom he fear'd rather than lov'd, and therefore resolv'd to destroy him. Accordingly he was seiz'd not long after by the Emperor's Order, and committed to Prison, in which within a few Days, by vertue of the same Authority, he was put to Death.

A. D. 855. *Theodora* resented this Murder with a most extravagant Passion; she ran up and down the Court with her Hair loose about her Shoulders, fill'd the Air with her Shrieks and Cries, curs'd both her Brother and her Son, and wish'd them an End equally as unfortunate. These Reproaches serv'd only to incense *Bardas* and the young Prince against her, so that they resolv'd to finish what they had begun in removing her. She, being sensible of their Design, was willing to spare 'em the Crime of shedding more Blood,

The Empress quits the Court.

and

and prepar'd to submit without any Resistance; to which purpose she summon'd the Senate, to whom she gave an Account of what Condition the Treasury was in, told 'em what a frugal Mistress she had been, and what immense Riches she left to her Son. After which she resign'd her Power, and departed from the Court, to the no small Satisfaction of *Michael*, who now found himself absolute, being freed from the disagreeable Restraint of a Mother and a Guardian. However, for fear she should attempt once more to resume that Authority she had so easily quitted, by *Bardas* his Advice, he order'd her to be shaven, and thrust into a Nunnery, an Indignity she did not long survive.

Michael made use of his unlimited Authority to the Destruction of the State, and the Profusion of those Treasures his Mother's Frugality had hoarded up. He took a great Pride in imitating *Nero*, and was mightily ambitious of exceeding the rest of the World in the Excellency of driving a Chariot, in Singing, and playing upon all sorts of musical Instruments; and copy'd that Original Monster so well as to be mighty skilful in all manner of Debaucheries, admitting none near his Person, but such as could share with him in his scandalous Exercises and Diversions, and these he preferr'd to the highest Employments; among the rest he made choice of one *Theoctistus*, the most scandalous of 'em all, whom he made Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This new Prelate, attended by a parcel of Priests that were like himself, would in broad Day-light walk as in Procession through the Streets, exposing himself in a thousand Buffoonries, and committing such Insolencies as appear'd horrible to the sober and discreet part of the Inhabitants. In the mean time *Ignatius*, the legal Patriarch, who, upon the Death of *Methodius*, had been elected in the Year 847, continu'd to exercise his Patriarchal Function, being very much belov'd by the People, and highly scandaliz'd at the Indignities offer'd the Church.

Michael an ungrateful Prince.

In

In a short time the dissolute Prince had wasted all his Treasures, and was reduc'd even to an infamous Necessity, in which he was forc'd to sell or pawn whatever was of value in the Imperial Palace. Among the rest he melted down those famous Trees of Gold, which, according to my Author, were made by a learn'd Bishop call'd *Leo*, in the late Emperor's Time, and were the Admiration of all that beheld 'em; for among the Branches were dispers'd a number of Golden Birds, which, by the help of an Engine, sung very delightfully, to the great Surprize of the Spectators, who were no less agreeably frighten'd at the Roar of some Golden Lions effected by the same Artifice. Whilst the Emperor was thus wasting the Treasures of the Empire, *Bardas* rul'd in it as he pleas'd, being, as a Reward for his eminent Services, made Steward of the Houshold, and General of the Armies. Having rais'd a powerful Army he set out upon an Expedition against the *Saracens*, in which the Emperor accompany'd him, and after he had wasted a great part of *Armenia minor*, he sate down before one of the strongest Towns upon the *Euphrates*. The *Saracens* appear'd seldom upon the Walls, and made few or no Sallies; by these means giving the *Romans* reason to imagine the Garrison was very thin, upon which Presumption they grew secure and careless; but as they were at their Devotions on the Lord's Day the Infidels sally'd out upon 'em, and made so good a use of their Advantage, that the whole Army was routed, the Camp and all their Baggage taken, and the Emperor himself with much difficulty escap'd. This Defeat, which *Manuel* receiv'd in his Enemy's Dominions, was follow'd not long after by another in his own; for the *Saracens* being, upon all Occasions, assisted by *Carbeas* and his *Manichees*, pierc'd with an Army, consisting of thirty thousand Men, into the *Roman* Territories; and tho' the Emperor oppos'd 'em with no fewer than forty thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, yet the *Saracens*, watching their Advantage,

Elicas.

Bardas *his great Power.*

The Romans *overthrown by the* Saracens.

tage,

nge, fell upon him unawares, and put his whole Army to Flight.

These Calamities threw the Empire into the greatest Consternation imaginable, especially when some time after News was brought to Court that the Infidels were preparing for another Invasion. The Emperor order'd his Uncle *Petronas* to march with an Army of *Thracians* against them; for *Bardas*, discourag'd with the late Overthrows, or for that he had Business of greater Consequence to pursue at home, declin'd taking the Field in Person, and trusted all to the Conduct of his Brother. *Petronas* his good Fortune in this Campaign repair'd, in some measure, the Losses sustain'd in the former Engagements, for he surrounded the *Saracens*, cut off the Caliph himself, and his whole Army; and having taken his Son Prisoner, as he was retiring in great haste to *Melitena*, he return'd in Triumph to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor made him Captain of his Guards, and permitted *Bardas* to assume the Title and Dignity of *Cæsar*; which as it was what he had been long aiming at, so did he conclude he had but one Step more to the Throne, with the Hopes of which he daily flatter'd his Ambition. His unbounded Power made him arbitrary in all his Actions, for he not only divorc'd himself from his Wife, against whom he alledg'd nothing that was able to justifie such a Proceeding, but marry'd his own Daughter-in-Law: At which the good Patriarch, *Ignatius*, was so offended, that he refus'd to communicate with him as it was customary upon the Feast of the *Epiphany*; with which *Bardas* was so provok'd, that in a Synod, he had order'd to be held at *Constantinople*, he suborn'd several false Witnesses, who accus'd *Ignatius* of having murder'd his Predecessor *Methodius*, whose Memory was had in great Veneration by the People; whereupon he was depos'd, and clapp'd up into Prison, and *Photius* was elected in his Place, which gave occasion to a very dangerous Sedition in *Constantinople*.

A. D. 858. *Bardas created Cæsar.*

All

All this while the degenerate Emperor doating in his scandalous way of living, spending his Time in Races, and other ridiculous Amusements, conforting with none but the most profligate Wretches in his Dominions. Among these was one *Grillus*, whom the Emperor, in his Frolicks, would call Patriarch, and having adorn'd him with the Patriarchal Habit, sent once for his Mother, who was not yet dead, to meet him; and as the unhappy Lady, who mistook him for the real Patriarch, fell on her Knees to crave his Blessing, the Villain discover'd himself, and with filthy obscene Gestures derided the deluded Princess, and was highly applauded for it by the Emperor. He was so extreamly addicted to Races that he interdicted the use of Beacons, at that time so necessary to inform the People of the Incursions of the *Saracens*, because, as he was once beginning his Race, a Beacon was set on Fire, at which he was extreamly afflicted lest the People, upon an Apprehension of the Danger, should be diverted from observing his great Dexterity in Riding. His Mother, before her Death, frequently advis'd him to beware of *Basilius*, who was his Successor, as of one who would be the Ruin of his Family; notwithstanding which he continu'd him in his Favour, advanc'd him to the greatest Employments of Honour and Profit, and at last declar'd him *Cæsar*, and his Companion in the Empire, having at first made way for his Advancement by the Murder of *Bardas*, who, as you, govern'd in every respect without Controul.

A. D. 866. The *Saracens* that had settled in *Crete*, as was before observ'd, extreamly infested the Coasts of the Empire, and having made a Descent they piere'd into *Thrace*, where they committed many Outrages. *Bardas* thought he should do the State an extraordinary piece of Service, if he could restrain the Insolence of those Infidels, and drive 'em out of *Crete*. To this end he rais'd a very powerful Army, and perswaded the Emperor to honour the Expedition with his Presence.

The

The Army encampid in *Phrygia*, near the Banks of the River *Meander*, where *Bardas* his Servants, either out of Design, or unadvisedly, pitch'd their Master's Tent upon a Hill over-looking that of the Emperors, which was plac'd below. This the Enemies of *Cæsar* took care to improve to his Prejudice, and easily perswaded the Emperor how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent aspiring a Favourite. Whereupon *Basilius* and the rest had Orders to murder him, which they executed on the first of *April*. The Soldiers were so offended at the Loss of their General, that a great Mutiny arose in the Army, and the Emperor escap'd with some Danger to *Constantinople*, where the thoughts of the *Cretan* Expedition were wholly laid aside, and the usual Entertainments of that luxurious Court restor'd. *Bardas* his Ruin introduc'd the Advancement of *Basilius*, whom *Michael* declar'd *Cæsar*, and his Associate in the Empire on the twenty sixth of *May* following. *Basilius*, tho born in *Macedonia*, was an *Armenian* by Descent, and tho' *Cedrenus* gives him a noble Pedigree, yet the generality affirm he was born of very mean obscure Parents. At the sacking of *Adrianople* by *Crumus*, King of *Bulgaria*, *Basilius*, being then a Child, was sold with his Parents into Captivity, where he continu'd till a Peace was concluded, at which Time he was exchang'd among other Prisoners. His first Office in Court was Master of the Horse, to which he was preferr'd by *Bardas*, who, when he observ'd how profuse the Emperor grew in his Favours to him, began to repent of what he had done, and apprehended a Rival in the Person of his Creature, and therefore he contriv'd his Destruction, which however was anticipated by his own. *Basilius*, being advanc'd by *Michael* to the Imperial Dignity, apply'd himself with great Industry, to the Management of Affairs, and behaving himself in every respect, with much Modesty and Meekness, he endeavour'd in all his Discourses to divert the Emperor from his dissolute

and is murder'd.

Basilius declar'd Cæsar *and the Emperor's Colleague;*

Courses.

Courſes. But the unworthy Prince was ſo far from liſtning to his wholeſome Counſels, that he contracted an Enmity to him, and prepar'd to deſtroy that Building he had juſt then rais'd, which haſten'd on his own Ruin; for *Baſilius*, being inform'd of what the Emperor and his impudent Paraſites were deſigning againſt him, thought the readier way to ſecure his own Safety was to ſtrike firſt, and therefore watching his Opportunity, one Day when the Emperor was in his Cups, he kill'd him, when he had reign'd upwards of five and twenty Years, in the twelfth Year of *Lewis* II. Emperor of the Weſt, and tenth of *Nicolas*, Pope of *Rome*, *An. Dom.* 867.

and murders Michael.

A.D. 867.

BASILIUS.

Baſilius, upon the Death of *Michael*, was acknowledg'd ſole Emperor by the ready Conſent of the Senate and the People. Knowing how profuſe his Predeceſſors had been in diſpoſing of the Publick Treaſure, he made a ſevere Examination into the Accounts of the Revenue, and by Act of Senate it was ordain'd, That they who had been rewarded for frivolous and diſhoneſt Services ſhould refund all to the Treaſury. Which Act, tho' very juſt in itſelf, he prudently mitigated, and was contented with a Reſtitution of half, which enabled him to make great Largeſſes to the People, whereby he grew exceedingly popular, and gain'd an extraordinary Reputation for the Care he took in the Adminiſtring of Juſtice. It's reported of him that he once wept for Joy, and gave God Thanks, for that, upon a diligent Inquiry, no Perſon was found throughout the City, who had occaſion to petition againſt his Officers, or complain of Oppreſſion. And as he was very diligent in the Management of the State, ſo was he no leſs ſolicitous for the well ordering of his own Family. He had four Sons, and as many Daughters; three of his Sons he created *Cæſars*, the fourth he deſign'd for the Church, and made all his Daughters Nuns.

The

The *Manichees* had, from the beginning of the late Reign, done innumerable Mischiefs to the Empire. They were Masters of many strong Holds in the East, from whence they made their Inroads at Discretion, and never return'd without a considerable Booty. These People *Basilius* thought it his Duty to chastise, and, if possible, to disarm 'em. To that purpose he rais'd the best Army he could, and proceeded in an Expedition against them, which was attended with Honour and Success, for in a few Years he broke the Heart of that People, wasted all their Country, seiz'd on their fortify'd Towns and Castles, and either kill'd or took their most experienc'd and resolute Officers; for which extraordinary Services he triumph'd in great Pomp at *Constantinople*, where some Conspiracies, form'd against him, were prevented by a seasonable Discovery, and the Conspirators justly punish'd. After this he invaded *Syria*, being attended in this Expedition by his eldest Son *Constantine*, and having taken *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, he struck such a Terror in the *Saracens*, that many of their Governors were forc'd to submit, and assist him in the War against their own Nation. He took so many Prisoners in this Expedition that their Numbers grew dangerous, upon which Consideration he commanded a Multitude of 'em to be slain. The greatest part of his Reign was spent in these Wars against the *Saracens*, in which, for the most part, he had the Advantage; for he recover'd *Crete* from them, destroy'd their whole Navy, and so far humbled them, that they were contented to sit quiet at home, not daring to attempt any thing against the *Romans*. The same was his Fortune in *Cilicia*, and in the West, where he reliev'd *Capua* closely besieg'd by the Infidels, and in a great measure drove 'em out of *Italy*. These his extraordinary Advantages made him belov'd at home, and fear'd and respected abroad. Notwithstanding which the *African Saracens* hop'd, by some worthy Exploit, to redeem the Honour of their

Basilius *breaks the Power of the Manichees.*

Nation, and accordingly fitted out a Fleet consisting of sixty Sail, with which they did great Mischief in the *Ionian* Sea.

Against these the Emperor sent *Nasar* his Admiral, who set Sail with a very strong Fleet to *Methona*, where his Men deserted in such great Numbers, that he was afraid to venture an Engagement, and sent the Emperor an Account of the Condition he was in, and how ill his Ships were mann'd. The Emperor, concern'd at so unexpected an Accident, had recourse to this Stratagem; he took thirty *Saracens* at that Time Prisoners in *Constantinople*, and having so disguis'd 'em, as to have 'em thought to be some of his own Subjects, he commanded 'em to be whipp'd publickly in the *Circus*, and from thence sent 'em into *Peloponnesus*, where they were nail'd to Crosses, as if they had been the principal Authors of the Desertion. This Stratagem had the Effect desir'd, for it not only confirm'd such in their Duty as had continu'd in the Service, but so terrify'd those that had deserted, that they return'd to their Duty, and desir'd to be led against the Enemy. In the mean Time the *Saracens* were much elevated at this Delay in the *Romans*, and having in full Security quitted their Ships, they were busied in plundering a-shore, when *Nasar* fell unexpectedly by Night on their Fleet, and either sunk, burnt, or took all their Vessels.

A successful Stratagem.

The Saracen Fleet destroy'd.

The Satisfaction the Emperor receiv'd from these frequent Advantages was something allay'd by the Loss of *Syracuse*, which was besieg'd and taken by the *Carthaginian Saracens*, tho' the Emperor had mann'd out a strong Fleet to relieve it: For *Adrian*, the Patrician, who was sent to command it, arriv'd not time enough to its Assistance, for which Reason he was banish'd by the Emperor at his Return to *Constantinople*.

Basilius, at such Times as he was releas'd from the Cares of War, busied himself in building and repairing Churches, and beautifying the Imperial Palaces, which

which he did at a prodigious Expence. Some have reflected upon him for building and dedicating so many Churches to the Honour of St. *Michael*, as if he had been prompted to it by the stings of his Conscience, thereby to expiate the Murder of his Predecessor *Michael*, his great Patron and Benefactor. 'Tis certain, that towards the latter end of his Reign he grew diffident and superstitious, addicting himself to the Conversation of Monks, who impos'd on him by their legendary Fables and selfish Intrigues. His eldest Son *Constantine* being dead, he lamented his Loss with a very unbecoming Passion, and was inconsolable, saith *Zonaras*, 'till by the Assistance of a Monk call'd *Theodorus Santabarenus*, reputed a Negromancer and Magician, he beheld a *Spectrum*, cloath'd in his Son's Shape, which met him on Horseback, and, after the Emperor had kiss'd and embrac'd it, vanish'd in an Instant. This, or some other extraordinary pieces of Service, render'd the Monk very powerful with the Emperor, who seldom did any Thing without his Advice or Approbation, but suffer'd himself to be most grosly abus'd and deluded by him, which gave Ground to many unhappy Divisions in the Court.

Constantine being dead, the Eyes of all were fix'd on *Leo*, the Emperor's second Son, who, being a generous wary Prince, was much offended at the Power *Theodorus* and his Accomplices had by their Arts obtain'd over the Emperor; of which the jealous Monk was quickly sensible, and therefore he resolv'd by some Artifice to destroy him. The Custom being for the Prince, when he attended his Father abroad, to go unarm'd, the Monk alarm'd him with the Dangers to which he pretended the Emperor lay expos'd through the Practices of some designing Courtiers, especially whilst he was in the Field a Hunting, in which the Emperor took an uncommon Delight, for which Reason he advis'd him to arm himself privately, with some of his Followers, and be ready to op-

The Dangerous Craft of a Monk.

pose any Treason should be attempted against him. These Jealousies the Monk instill'd with so much Cunning into the pious Prince, that he readily inclin'd to his Advice, and the next Time he attended his Father abroad he arm'd himself, and some of his most intimate Friends. In the mean Time the Monk hasten'd to the Emperor, and in great Consternation told him *what manifest Danger attended him, that his Son had a Design against his Life, and was prepar'd, the next Time he went out to Hunt, to kill him in the Field, and that, if he took care to have him search'd, he would find him arm'd accordingly.* The jealous Emperor receiv'd, with an easie Credulity, what the Monk had affirm'd with so much Confidence; and therefore having caus'd his Son to be search'd, and finding the Proofs visible against him, he committed him to close Prison, whither the Malice of the implacable Monk pursu'd him; for the Emperor, at his Instigation, had commanded his Eyes to be pluckt out, had not the Patriarch, and the Principal among the Nobility, interpos'd in his Behalf. All the honest Courtiers, and those who had a just Regard to the Welfare of the State, were highly concern'd at these Domestick Quarrels, and labour'd very earnestly for the Prince his Release; to which the Emperor would by no means condescend, 'till he had receiv'd undeniable Arguments of his Innocence, after which he restor'd him to his former Dignity, and continu'd him always near his Person. For *Basilius* finding his End approaching, took care to instil into his Son such Rules of Government, as might make him answer the Expectations of his People, and the high Dignity to which he was call'd. The *Greek* Historians commend him highly for his Care in this Particular, his Acts of Piety, and impartial Administration of Justice. The same Authors ascribe *Leo*'s Release to the seasonable Mimickry of a Parrot, which being casually taught his Lesson by the repeated Condolements of some, who daily lamented the young Prince's

his Condition in a Room where the Bird hung constantly up in a Cage, cry'd out, with reiterated Complaints, at a Time when the Emperor was entertaining some of the Nobility at a publick Collation in the same Apartment, *Alas, my Lord* Leo! which Accident added fresh weight to the former Applications his Friends had made in his Behalf. *Basilius* did not live long after his Son's Release, but dy'd of a Diarrhæa, according to some (tho' others affirm he was kill'd casually by a Stag) in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, the Fifth of *Charles* the Gross, and Second of *Stephen* the Fifth Pope of *Rome*, A. D. 886. Basilius dies.

They who pretend that *Leo*, tho' receiv'd and esteem'd as the Son of *Basilius*, was in reality the Son of *Michael*, have no other Ground for their Assertion, but the Severity of his Restraint, which will have no weight, if we consider the just Provocations the Emperor thought he had to proceed with so much Rigour against him; how notwithstanding he releas'd him before his Death, and design'd him for his Successor, which it is not likely he would have done had he not been his own Son, since he had others to succeed him. Nor is it to be suppos'd his extraordinary Respect for the Memory of his Predecessor *Michael* could prevail with him to act so much to the Prejudice of his own Family; 'tis a Maxim altogether new, and unheard of among Princes, how just and generous soever they may be in their own Natures. Zonaras.

Basilius was a Man of a Spirit and Capacity much above his Birth and Education, which he made appear in many remarkable Instances throughout his Reign. He cautiously declin'd engaging himself in the Disputes of Religion, and thereby kept fair with the contending Parties, though he diligently labour'd to promote the Peace of the Church. His Care was in nothing more conspicuous than in his reforming and new modelling the Laws of the Empire, which had lost much of their Authority since the Days of *Justinian*, as well in the Eastern Empire, His Character.

pire, where the uſe of the *Latin* Tongue, in which they were compil'd, by degrees grew diſcontinu'd, as in the Weſt, where they were ſuppreſs'd or reſtrain'd by the barbarous Nations, who had conquer'd *Italy*, and introduc'd their own particular Laws and native Cuſtoms. In ſhort, it may be ſaid of *Baſilius*, that if he had obtain'd the Empire with as much Innocence as he govern'd it with Prudence and Moderation, he had deſerv'd to have been remember'd among the beſt Emperors.

LEO V. *Baſilius* being dead, *Leo* was univerſally acknowledg'd Emperor. He had been declar'd ſuch by his Father in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, immediately upon the Death of his elder Brother *Conſtantine*, and profited ſo much from his own private Readings, and his Father's Inſtructions, that he deſervedly acA. D. quir'd the Surname of *Philoſophus*. His firſt Care was 886. to puniſh *Theodorus* the Monk, who had been the Author of ſo many Miſchiefs towards the latter end of his Father's Reign. He firſt order'd him to be whipp'd in an ignominious manner, after which he ſent him to *Athens*, from whence, after he had order'd his Eyes to be pluck'd out, he baniſh'd him into the Eaſt. He proceeded with equal Severity againſt *Photius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who had not only declar'd openly in Favour of *Theodorus*, and given a beginning to ſeveral Conteſts betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Church, but was accus'd of having conſulted with *Theodorus* how to advance one of his own Kinſmen to the Throne. Hereupon *Photius* was depos'd, and baniſh'd into *Armenia*, and the Emperor's own Brother *Stephen* was advanc'd to the Patriarchal Dignity. At the ſame Time he recall'd thoſe Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticks, that had been baniſh'd by the Contrivance or Authority of *Photius*, and reſtor'd 'em to their former Dignities, and endeavour'd, as much as he was able, to obliterate the Memory of his Father's Ingratitude to *Michael*, whoſe Relicks he remov'd from the Monaſtery wherein they were re-

pos'd,

pos'd, and convey'd 'em in ſolemn Pomp to the Imperial City. The Beginning of this Emperor's Reign was render'd unhappily remarkable for a ſudden Irruption of the *Saracens*, and a Fire which deſtroy'd great Numbers of Houſes, together with ſeveral Publick Buildings at *Conſtantinople*. This was follow'd by freſh Commotions in *Italy*, occaſion'd by the Treachery of *Ajo*, or *Angæus*, Duke of *Beneventum*, who, hearing of *Baſilius* his Death, fell ſuddenly upon the Emperor's Lieutenant, who commanded in thoſe Parts that continu'd ſubject to the *Byzantine* Empire, and having overthrown him in two or three Engagements, forc'd the Inhabitants to renounce their Allegiance to the Emperor, and declare for him. As ſoon as *Leo* was inform'd of this Revolt he ſent *Conſtantine*, the Patrician, with a ſtrong Army into *Italy*, where he receiv'd an abſolute Defeat, and was conſtrain'd to return from whence he came. *New Troubles in Italy.*

The Year following there happen'd ſuch an Eclipſe of the Sun, that the Stars appear'd at Noon-day, and this was attended with ſuch terrible Thunders and Lightning as threw the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, where ſeveral were deſtroy'd, into a general Conſternation. *Leo* had been marry'd in the Year 879 to *Theophania*, the Daughter of *Martinacius*, a Lady of a moſt exemplary Piety, for which reaſon *Leo* had her canoniz'd, and erected a Temple in Honour of her Memory after her Death; tho' whilſt he was alive, and ſome time after his Advancement to the Throne, he forc'd *Zoe*, the greateſt Beauty of that Age, from the Arms of one to whom ſhe had been marry'd, and us'd her as his Concubine, conferring new and unheard-of Honours upon her Father; who, abuſing the Power he had with the Emperor, gave a beginning to the War between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*. There had been a great Trade carry'd on between the two Nations for a conſiderable Time, and the Publick Mart was kept at *Conſtantinople*, from whence ſome of the *Greek* Merchants

perſuaded *Zantzas*, the Father of *Zoe*, to remove it, by Virtue of the Authority he had in the Court, to *Theſſalonica*; where the Officers who were employ'd to collect the Emperor's Cuſtoms acted with an unuſual Vigour, and oppreſs'd the *Bulgarians* with unlawful Impoſitions: Of which when Complaint was made to *Simeon*, the Prince of that Nation, who had long wanted a Pretence for a Rupture, he requir'd, by his Ambaſſadors, immediate Satisfaction from the Emperor; who, depending too much upon *Zantzas* his Suggeſtions, refus'd to redreſs thoſe who had been ſo unjuſtly oppreſs'd, and by that means ſupply'd *Simeon* with a fair Opportunity of declaring War againſt him. In the firſt Engagement, which happen'd in *Macedonia*, the *Romans* receiv'd a total Defeat, great Numbers of 'em were ſlain upon the Place, and more taken Priſoners, who were us'd in a barbarous manner by the inſolent Conqueror; for he firſt led 'em in Triumph round his Camp, after which he cut off their Noſes, and ſent 'em to *Conſtantinople*, where they fill'd the Inhabitants at once with Shame, Anger and Amazement. *Leo* was highly provok'd at this Indignity, and therefore prevail'd with the *Hungarians* to invade *Simeon* on one ſide, whilſt he aſſaulted him on the other. The *Hungarians*, being incourag'd by the rich Preſents they had receiv'd from the Emperor, were eaſily perſuaded to undertake the Expedition, and therefore prepar'd in great Numbers to break into *Bulgaria*. *Leo* on the other Hand fitted out a ſtrong Fleet, and having rais'd a new Army, he committed it to the Conduct of *Nicephorus Phocas*, a Patrician, and Captain of the Guards; but being ſtill more deſirous of Peace, than the continuance of a War, to which he had given an unhappy Beginning; at the ſame Time that the Army began to march, he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Simeon* with Propoſals for an Accommodation. *Simeon*, who obſerv'd the Powers that were drawing down on each ſide againſt him, thought this a Trick of the Emperor's on purpoſe

A War with the Bulgarians

pose to amuse and circumvent him; so that having thrown the Ambassador into Prison he march'd in Person against the *Hungarians*, who had pass'd the *Ister*, and were destroying *Bulgaria* with Fire and Sword. The *Hungarians* receiv'd him with great Courage, and after an hot Dispute on both sides, totally overthrew him. The Flower of all his Army was cut off, and he escap'd with great hazard to *Drista*, whilst the *Hungarians* pursu'd those of his Forces that fled, of whom they took great Multitudes Prisoners, and sold 'em for a good Sum of Money to the Emperor. This Misfortune had taught *Simeon* to act with a little more Moderation, for observing that the Emperor's Forces, under the Conduct of *Nicephorus*, were approaching, he sent and earnestly desir'd Peace from *Leo*, who as readily granted it, and gave Orders for his Fleet and Army to return home.

Simeon king of Bulgaria beaten by the Hungarians.

Simeon no sooner found the Danger remov'd but he threw *Leo*'s Ambassadors into Prison, and fell with an unexpected Fury upon the *Hungarians*, whom he defeated, and in a barbarous manner ravag'd all their Country; and when the Emperor, who was unable to assist his Confederates upon so short a Warning, complain'd of this Proceeding, and demanded a Ratification of the Treaty, he arrogantly declar'd he would by no means condescend to a Peace till all the *Bulgarians*, who had been taken Prisoners, were releas'd; this the Emperor, after some Hesitation, consented to, notwithstanding which *Simeon* would not consent to lay down his Arms, but insisted on new Demands more unreasonable than the former, at which *Leo* was so incens'd that he resolv'd to fall upon him with the whole Power of the Empire, and, if possible, to destroy him. Some Misunderstanding between the General Officers, occasion'd by the Intrigues of *Zantzas*, who govern'd with too unlimited an Authority in the Court, destroy'd the hopes of this Expedition; for *Simeon* fell upon the *Romans* whilst they were at Variance among themselves, and

obtain'd

obtain'd an entire Victory over 'em, which constrain'd the Emperor at length to consent to a Peace upon the best Terms he could obtain, which however was observ'd no longer than it was judg'd beneficial either to the one side or the other, and the War was carry'd on with various Success between both Nations during all this Emperor's Reign. For notwithstanding all his great Care and Vigilance, the *Bulgarians* watch'd all Opportunities of insulting the Empire.

Whilst *Leo* was engag'd in these Wars abroad, several Designs were form'd against his Person at home, which however were seasonably discover'd, and the Traitors deservedly punish'd, tho' once he escap'd with great Hazard of his Life. For going in a solemn Procession to Church on *Whitsunday*, as it was customary upon that Festival, a Fellow watch'd his Opportunity, and gave him so great a Blow on his Head, that all about him despair'd of his Life. The Fellow was immediately seiz'd and tortur'd, in order to force him to a Discovery, but all they could do could extort nothing from him; 'tis true he was look'd on as distemper'd in his Brain, which it's thought put an end to any further Scrutiny. Indeed *Alexander*, the Emperor's Brother, was mistrusted to have given Life to all these Conspiracies, notwithstanding which *Leo* made no Enquiry against him, either for that he had then no Son of his own to succeed him, or because, being a Man of no Merit or Esteem, he thought it beneath his Worth to apprehend any Danger from him.

A. D. 901. *Several Conspiracies discover'd.*

Some time before this, *Leo*, having bury'd his Empress *Theophania* with much Pomp, marry'd *Zoe* his beautiful Concubine, and put the Imperial Crown on her Head. She enjoy'd not those Honous long, but dy'd within two Years after her Advancement, and was succeeded by a Woman of a Beauty equal to her own, nam'd *Eudocia*, who dying in Child-bed not very long after, left the Emperor once more a Widower. As yet he had no Son to succeed him, at which he

Leo marries Zoe his Concubine.

was

was very uneaſie; but being, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, addicted to Aſtrology, he was aſſur'd he ſhould ſtill be the Father of a Succeſſor, which encourag'd him to look out for another Wife, and was eaſily perſuaded to marry a ſecond *Zoe*, by whom he had a Son call'd *Conſtantine*. The fourth Marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave Ground to ſeveral unhappy Diviſions in the Eaſtern Church. For as ſoon as *Leo* had declar'd *Zoe* Empreſs, which was not till her Son *Conſtantine* was born, *Nicholaus Myſticus*, at that time Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, not only declar'd himſelf reſolutely againſt it, but excommunicated the Emperor, who when he obſtinately refus'd, upon *Leo*'s earneſt Application, to reſtore him to the Church, he depos'd him from his Office, and ſubſtituted *Euthymius* in his Place. *Nicholaus* would not have carry'd himſelf with ſo much Obſtinacy, if he had not been ſupported by the Opinions and Declarations of ſeveral other Biſhops his Suffragans, who adhered ſtedfaſtly to him in his Expulſion; whereas others, who were of a more peaceable Temper, approv'd of the new Patriarch's Diſpenſation in the Emperor's Behalf, whereupon a Schiſm enſu'd in the Church.

A Schiſm in the Eaſtern Church.

The Nuptial Ceremonies were hardly over before the Emperor was alarm'd by the Motions of the *Saracens*, who, encourag'd at the Hoſtilities and Succeſs of the *Bulgarians*, firſt mann'd out a Fleet, with which they took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, and having ſlain a great Multitude of the *Romans* they conquer'd *Lemnos*, from whence they led away an incredible Number of Captives. After this they did great Miſchiefs without controul upon the Coaſts under the Conduct of a Renegado, call'd *Leo Attaleus*, who put the Imperial City it ſelf into a great Conſternation. The Emperor prepar'd all the Strength he had at Sea to oppoſe 'em, but his Admirals finding 'em always ſuperior in Number, return'd without attempting any thing againſt 'em, and left 'em to beſiege *Theſſalonica*, which they

The Saracens infeſt the Empire.

they took and plunder'd, and had deſtroy'd the City had they not been bought off with a vaſt Sum of Gold. *Leo*, after theſe Diſgraces at Sea, where he found himſelf unable to contend with the Infidels, thought it not improper to make ſome Repriſals upon 'em by Land; and having rais'd a very powerful Army he gain'd ſeveral Victories againſt 'em in the Eaſt, under the Conduct of *Euſtathius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas*: And had not ſome fatal Diſſentions put a ſtop to the Progreſs of his Arms, he had infallibly obtain'd as great or greater Advantages againſt 'em than any of his Predeceſſors. *Samonas*, a *Saracen* by Birth, having diſcover'd ſome dangerous Deſigns form'd againſt the Emperor, was, by Advice of the Senate, as well as by *Leo*'s particular Inclinations to his Perſon, advanc'd to Employments of the higheſt Truſt and Profit. He made an outward formal Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, but inwardly nouriſh'd the Poiſon with which he was infected at his Birth, and having in a prodigious manner enrich'd himſelf, he attempted to eſcape with all his Wealth into his own Country; but after ſeveral Accidents upon the Road was ſtopp'd, and brought back to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantinus Ducas*, the Son of the General *Andronicus*. The Emperor, notwithſtanding his intended Defection, reſtor'd him upon a ſpecious Submiſſion to his Favour, and, continuing him in his Offices, left it in his Power to revenge himſelf upon thoſe who had forc'd him back. Shortly after this Accident *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* were declar'd Generals againſt the *Saracens*; and *Samonas* having conceiv'd an implacable Hatred to *Andronicus*, upon the Account of his Son *Conſtantine*, prevail'd with one of the Generals, his moſt intimate Friend, to adviſe him by Letter *by no means to join with* Himerius *in any Enterprize againſt the* Saracens, *for that* Himerius *had Orders from the Emperor to put out his Eyes as ſoon as he could get him into his Power.* *Andronicus* unhappily liſten'd to theſe Inſinuations, and ſuffer'd *Himerius* to engage without him, notwithſtanding

The cunning Intrigues of a Saracen *Favourite.*

ſtanding which the *Saracens* were totally defeated. This Succeſs againſt the Infidels at once reminded *Andronicus* of his Duty, and the Error he had committed; ſo deſpairing of a Pardon from the Emperor he ſeiz'd on a Caſtle near *Iconium*, where he prepar'd for a Revolt, whilſt *Samonas* was uſing all the Power he had at Court to his Deſtruction, repreſenting to *Leo*, with all the Force his Malice was Maſter of, *How contumaciouſly he refus'd to join with* Himerius *in the Expedition, and was now ripe for a Rebellion.* Tho' *Leo* was unwilling to believe any thing to the Prejudice of *Andronicus*, who had hitherto ſerv'd him with much Honour and Integrity, yet being ignorant of *Samonas* his wicked Artifice, and reflecting on the General's late Behaviour, he commanded a ſtrong Army to be ſent againſt him, whereupon *Andronicus* fled with all he had to the *Saracens*, by whom he was receiv'd with all imaginable Kindneſs and Reſpect.

Leo, as ſoon as the heat of his Reſentment was over, began to reflect on what he had done. He could not be ignorant of the Reaſons *Samonas* had to act with ſo much Vigour againſt *Andronicus*, and regretted at once the good Subject his Credulity had loſt, and what an Enemy he had rais'd up in his ſtead, and reſolv'd, if poſſible, to recal him. Accordingly he releas'd a *Saracen* Captive, on Condition he would carry ſome Letters from him to *Andronicus*; the *Saracen* readily undertook the Service, but being brib'd by *Samonas*, inſtead of conveying 'em to *Andronicus*, he deliver'd the Letters to the Caliph, wherein he invited him home, promis'd to reſtore him to his former Dignity and Eſtate, and gave him all imaginable aſſurance of freſh Encouragement. The Caliph having read the Letters immediately threw *Andronicus* and his Friends into Priſon, where they were treated with all imaginable Severity, under which *Andronicus* miſerably periſh'd; others abjur'd their Religion for the ſake of their Liberty, to which,

after

after many Hardſhips, they were reſtor'd; and the reſt, with exceeding difficulty, eſcap'd to *Conſtantinople*, with *Conſtantine*, *Andronicus* his Son, of whom the Reader may expect a farther Account hereafter.

Leo's cauſeleſs Jealouſies.

Whatever Grounds *Leo* had for his Proceedings againſt *Andronicus*, it doth not appear, but the Jealouſie he had conceiv'd againſt *Euſtathius Argyrus* was even more unwarrantable. *Euſtathius* had given the Emperor, and ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, frequent Inſtances of his great Integrity and Conduct in many Services both by Sea and Land, notwithſtanding which, without any apparent Crime urg'd againſt him, he was turn'd out of all his Employments on a ſudden, and was not ſuffer'd long to enjoy the Sweetneſs of a private Life, being ſhortly after taken off by Poiſon, to the great Diſſatisfaction as well of the Seamen as the Soldiers, by whom he was univerſally belov'd. The Behaviour of *Leo*, in theſe Particulars, ſhews us how unhappy ſome Princes are in the Choice of their Favourites. And 'twas equally as difficult for any one to find out a Reaſon for the Misfortune of theſe two Great Men, as for the extraordinary Favours, notwithſtanding all his Perfidious Intrigues, continu'd to *Samonas*, who was grown into ſo great a Credit with the Emperor, that he ſent for the Favourite's Father, entertain'd him in the Imperial Palace, and out of a religious, but dangerous Vanity, ſhew'd him all the rich Furniture and Treaſure of the Church. The old Man was ſo charm'd at the Power and Authority with which he ſaw his Son govern in *Conſtantinople*, that he would willingly have ſtaid there, and been Partaker with him in it, had not *Samonas* perſuaded him to continue ſtedfaſt in his Religion, which he never had renounc'd from his Heart, and return into his own Country, whither he intended to follow him with the firſt Opportunity. The Father being gone, the Emperor grew every Day more profuſe in his Favours to his Son, 'till by degrees he grew, as it were, intoxicated with too much Power, and by that

means

means procur'd his own Ruin. *Samonas* had recommended a young Gentleman, call'd *Conſtantine*, by Birth a *Paphlagonian*, to wait on the Empreſs, who was ſo much taken with him, that ſhe made uſe of all her Intereſt to promote him, which adminiſter'd great Cauſe of Diſtruſt to *Samonas*, who began to fear he might be ſupplanted. At firſt he endeavour'd by the ſtrength of his Authority to remove him, but when he found that could not be effected, he arrogantly accus'd the Empreſs of too much Familiarity with him, and proceeded ſo far as to publiſh a Scurrilous Libel againſt the Emperor himſelf; who, finding him to be the Author of it, grew at length ſenſible of his Perfidiouſneſs, and after he had order'd him to be ſhaven he confin'd him to a Monaſtery, and preferr'd the new Favourite to be Chamberlain of the Houſhold in his ſtead. *Samonas in Diſgrace.*

Leo did not long ſurvive this piece of Juſtice, but dy'd of the Cholick on the eleventh of *May*, or *June*, as ſome will have it, in the ſecond Year of *Anaſtaſius* the Third Pope of *Rome*, the firſt of *Lewis* the Fourth, Emperor of *Germany*, and twenty fifth of his own Reign, by the Conſent of moſt Authors, tho' ſome others vary from it, *An. Dom.* 911. *Leo dies.* A. D. 911.

Leo is generally allow'd to have been a vigilant and prudent Prince, a Man of great Learning and Capacity in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, tho' there can be no one but muſt allow him in many things to be blameable. Undoubtedly his extraordinary Learning render'd him a Favourite among Men of Letters, eſpecially the Church-Men, who compare him to the moſt vigilant of their Biſhops in his Care of the Church, expreſs'd in his Circular Letter, and other of his Writings. His prudent Management towards the *Italian* Princes, by which he won ſeveral of them off from their Alliances with the *Saracens*, who were grown very powerful in the Weſt, and uniting them into a joint Confederacy againſt them, ſhews him to be an able Stateſman and *His Character.*

provident

provident Guardian of the Christians. His Son being little more than five Years old at his Death, he declar'd *Alexander*, his Brother, his Successor, adjuring him, by all the Ties of Gratitude and Nature, to be careful of the young Prince his Education, and appoint him to succeed in the Empire, which, in all appearance, he would hardly have done, had *Alexander* been then no more than twenty Years of Age, as some of the *Greek* Writers have affirm'd, tho' *Curopalates*, from whom the rest have borrow'd, and by that means fell into the same Error with him, forgot his former Account, in which he tells us that *Basilius* the Emperor, in the third Year of his Reign, created his third Son *Alexander Cæsar*, which being true, it follows of necessity that he could not be less than forty Years of Age at *Leo*'s Death.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Leo *the Philosopher, to that of* Basilius *the Second, who subdu'd the* Bulgarians, *and made 'em Tributary to the Empire.*

Containing the Space of 114 *Years.*

ALEXANDER.

I. IT was very happy for the State that the Reign of *Alexander*, whom *Leo* had appointed his Successor, was so short; in which however he had Time enough to give the World a terrible Idea of a wicked dissolute Prince; and tho' he was quick in his Course, yet, like a malignant Planet, he shed his poisonous Influence as he roll'd along. He was scarce confirm'd in the Empire before he recall'd *Nicolaus Mysticus*, whom his Brother had banish'd, and in a publick Assembly, summon'd for that purpose, formally depos'd *Euthymius*, the Patriarch; who was no sooner degraded, but some Hot-headed Priests of *Nicolaus* his Faction fell violently upon the helpless Old Man, and, in a most outrageous manner, insulted him, pulling him by his hoary Beard, buffetting him with their Fists, and committing such barbarous Indignities upon his sacred Person, as would scarce be allow'd even in a Representation upon the Stage, and at which the Ambassadors of the *Saracens* themselves, who were then present, to the great Scandal of Christianity, were highly offended. *Euthymius* did not long survive this Barbarity, but dy'd shortly after in Exile.

Alexander having, as he thought, by this Action settled the Affairs of the Church, apply'd himself with equal Prudence, to the Management of the State, out of which he thrust all those whose Honour and Integrity had render'd them unwelcome to him, advancing such in their room as would countenance,

and ſhare with him in his libidinous Courſes. He was ſenſible that theſe Proceedings had render'd him odious to the People, whoſe Eyes and Wiſhes were fix'd on his Nephew *Conſtantine*, whom therefore he deſign'd to caſtrate, and thereby render him incapable of the Succeſſion, which he propos'd to ſettle on a *Debauchee*, call'd *Baſilitzas*, a Fellow of obſcure Birth and Fortune, 'till enobled by him for being his Companion in all his abominable Extravagancies. Thoſe who were near his Perſon, and bore any Reſpect to the Memory of *Leo*, perſuaded him to ſuſpend the Execution of his Deſign for ſome Time, in Conſideration that the Child was young and ſick, and would ſhortly, in all probability, be call'd out of the way by a natural Death, which would ſave him the Expence of ſo an unpopular an Attempt. The hopes of that, and an aſſurance that the Prince was yet too young to raiſe any Diſturbances againſt him, reſtrain'd him for the preſent from his bloody Purpoſe.

Zoe, the Mother of *Conſtantine*, had, from the Death of *Leo*, very vigorouſly endeavour'd to oppoſe *Alexander*, at which being provok'd, by the Advice of his new Miniſters, he baniſh'd her from the Court, where none were ſuffer'd but thoſe who were of as brutiſh Appetites as himſelf. And that his Tranſactions abroad might bear a Reſemblance to thoſe at home, he diſmiſs'd, in an ignominious manner, the Ambaſſadors of the *Bulgarians*, who were come to renew the League formerly concluded; whereupon the War broke out afreſh between both Nations, and prov'd, in the Iſſue, very unfortunate to the *Romans*.

Thus had this unfortunate Prince, in leſs than a Year's Time, reduc'd the State to the laſt Extremity; being hated at home, where he was ſerv'd by none but ſuch as were Slaves to his ſenſual Pleaſures; and deſpis'd abroad, where his Enemies, juſtly provok'd againſt him, were arming for his Deſtruction. All thoſe, who were able or willing to ſerve their Coun-

try

try in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture, were diſgrac'd and baniſh'd, and the ſole Management of Affairs committed to the Hands of thoſe who ſeem'd to deſire its Deſtruction. All this while he purſu'd with great Application his diſſolute Courſes, laughing at the ſacred Orders of the Church, blaſpheming God, and oppreſſing Man; 'till Death, haſten'd on by his Intemperance, releas'd the State from ſo pernicious a Monſter, and took him off in the midſt of his Debaucheries. Having one Day exercis'd himſelf at Tennis, after a great fit of Gluttony, he play'd with ſo much Violence, that he broke ſome of the Veſſels, and continu'd to bleed inwardly 'till he dy'd. Before his Death he declar'd his Nephew *Conſtantine* his Succeſſor, but appointed thoſe for his Governors, during his Minority, as had in his Life-time been his moſt darling Companions, all which however were ſhortly after remov'd by *Zoe*, the young Emperor's Mother, whom they were forc'd much againſt their Wills to recall to Court. Alexander dies. A. D. 912.

Alexander's ſudden Death, and the Contempt the generality of the People had for thoſe who were aſſign'd for the young Prince his Governors, encourag'd ſome, who were Friends to *Conſtantine Ducas*, the Son of *Andronicus*, to aim at an Innovation. *Ducas* was at that Time abſent, but was quickly advertis'd by his Friends of *Alexander*'s Death. They *remainded him of the dangerous Condition the State was in, threaten'd from abroad, and divided at home, that in the mean Time the Empire wanted a Head to govern and protect it, that it would infallibly be diſſolv'd if he did not appear in its behalf, and by a timely Defence prevent the Ruin that attended it, there being no Man living fit to govern but himſelf.* *Leo*, the late Emperor, is ſaid to have admoniſh'd *Ducas* of his Duty upon his Return to *Conſtantinople*, which was before obſerv'd: *And to have adviſ'd him, notwithſtanding the Encouragement he might receive from his Name, never to aim at the Sovereignty*; That *if he contented himſelf with* CONSTANTINE VI.

a private State, in which he was born, he might live long and happy; but if ever he attempted the Imperial Dignity, that very Place, where now he was treated with so much Honour and Magnificence, would inevitably be the Scene of his Destruction. *Constantinus Ducas* either had forgot this friendly Admonition, or disregarded it. He gave a ready Ear to the dangerous Invitations of his unhappy Friends, and hasten'd by Night with a select Body of Men to *Constantinople*, and being got into the Castle summon'd all his Friends to attend him. Many there were of great Power and Authority in the City that answer'd his Summons, and repair'd to the Castle; from whence, after a few Hours spent in some previous Consultations, they went in a great Multitude, with Torches in their Hands, before it was Light, to the publick *Circus*, and with joyful Acclamations saluted him Emperor.

Constantinus Ducas sets up for himself,

The young Emperor's Governors had quickly an Account of this dangerous Tumult, and sent *John*, who was one of the Number, at the Head of some Seamen, and such others as were the most forward to defend the Prince, with Orders to oppose the Usurper, who met with little or no Opposition 'till he got to the Court of Guard, where the Soldiers, being encourag'd by *John*'s Approach, made a very vigorous Resistance. *Gregory*, the Son of *Ducas*, and some others of his most intimate Friends were slain at the first Onset; and shortly after *Ducas* himself being thrown from his Horse as he was encouraging his Men, who began to give Ground, was seiz'd by some of the Imperial Guards, who cut off his Head, and presented it to the Emperor. With *Ducas* fell the Life and Hopes of all his Party, the Principal of whom were punish'd either by Death or Banishment. This unexpected Insurrection, so happily crush'd in its Birth, gave the young Prince his Governors a fair Pretence of calling such of the Senators to an Account, who were too honest to approve of their Behaviour

and is slain.

viour in their Authority; and 'tis thought many of that Rank, tho' innocent, had suffer'd, had not one of the Judges, more courageous than the rest, boldly ask'd 'em, *How they durst attempt Things of so high a Nature during the Emperor's Minority?*

In the midst of these Domestick Distractions *Simeon*, King of *Bulgaria*, being justly provok'd at the Indignities put upon his Ambassadors by *Alexander*, had with a very powerful Army invaded the Empire, and was by this Time advanc'd so near to *Constantinople*, that he had great hopes of taking it; but met with so vigorous a Reception from the Inhabitants, who trusted not so much to their Walls, tho' they were very strong, as their own Courage, that after several unsuccessful Attempts he was forc'd to retire, and offer some Overtures for a Treaty, which were very willingly embrac'd by the Governors, and the Matter was carry'd on so far, that *Simeon* was admitted to Dine with the Emperor, who receiv'd him very honourably, and dismiss'd him laden with rich Presents. Notwithstanding which the Treaty was either broke before it could be brought to any happy Conclusion, or the Peace violated soon after. For by that Time the Empress *Zoe* had been recall'd to Court, and confirm'd in her Authority, *Simeon* broke once more into *Thrace*, and destroy'd all with Fire and Sword, continuing long in no Place 'till he arriv'd at *Adrianople*, which he resolv'd to take either by Force of Arms, or the Power of his Presents. The latter prov'd the more prevalent, for it was betray'd to him by one *Pancratucas*, an *Armenian*, who had been corrupted by Gold to that purpose, and was afterwards, by the same means, recover'd to the Emperor.

The Bulgarians invade the Empire,

Whilst *Zoe* was thus attack'd on one Side by the *Bulgarians*, the *Saracens* from *Tyre* infested the Maritim Parts of the Empire on the other; whereupon she consulted with the Senate what was to be done in such an Extremity; in which it was resolv'd to

and the Saracens.

make Peace, if poſſible, with the *Saracens*, and direct the whole Power of the Empire againſt the *Bulgarians*. The *Saracens* being divided among themſelves at home, and ſatisfy'd for the preſent with their late Depredations, readily agreed to an Accommodation; ſo that *Zoe* being now diſintangled from them, ſent *Leo Phocas* at the Head of a very gallant Army againſt the *Bulgarians*. *Leo* muſter'd his Army at *Diabaſis*, being a capacious Plain, and fit for ſuch a Purpoſe. He found the Troops in as good a Condition as he could deſire, very well diſciplin'd, and eager to be led againſt the Enemy, to which they had been encourag'd by a late Donative from the Empreſs. Here the great Chaplain of the Palace, having firſt made 'em all kneel down, and ſwear to fight it out to the laſt, in a ſolemn manner gave them his Benediction. The General Officers were Men moſt of 'em eminent for their former Services, and great Experience in the War, ſo that *Leo*, with great Reaſon, promis'd himſelf Succeſs in his Expedition. Both Armies engag'd on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and the Battel was fought with great Reſolution on both Sides, 'till at length the Valour of the *Romans* prevail'd, and the *Bulgarians* after a great Loſs, were put to Flight. It happen'd that *Leo*, grown faint and thirſty through the great Fatigues of Battel, in which he had equall'd the Labour of the moſt ordinary Soldier, alighted at a Fountain to refreſh himſelf during the Purſuit, and whilſt he ſtoop'd down to drink, the Horſe, eas'd of his Rider, broke looſe and ran in among the Ranks of the Army; where being known by the Soldiers they all concluded their General was ſlain, whereupon moſt of 'em, in a diſorderly manner, turn'd their Purſuit into a Flight. The Diſorder this unhappy Miſtake had created in the *Roman* Army was quickly perceiv'd by *Simeon*, who, having retreated in an orderly manner, immediately rally'd his Forces, and turn'd the Fortune of the Day.

A. D. 917. *The Romans are defeated by the Bulgarians.*

To

To this Miſtake ſome attribute the Miſcarriage of the Imperial Army, tho' others aſſign a more weighty Reaſon for it. They ſay that whilſt *Leo* was buſily employ'd in purſuit of the Enemy, he receiv'd Intelligence that *Romanus Lacapenus*, a Man of great Authority in the Empire, and Admiral of the Fleet, which had Orders to hover about the Sea-Coaſts, and aſſiſt *Leo* if need requir'd, was return'd back to *Conſtantinople* with a Deſign to uſurp the Imperial Power, whilſt moſt of the Great Men were abſent from the City; at which *Leo*, who had the ſame Deſign in View, was ſo nearly concern'd, that he return'd on a ſudden into the Camp, the better to be inform'd of the Truth; and by that means the Soldiers, who imagin'd it to be done out of Fear, were ſo diſcourag'd that they turn'd their Backs, and gave a new Turn to the Fortune of the Day. This ſeems to be the moſt probable Account, if we conſider the Actions both of the one and the other ſhortly after.

Leo was deſcended from ſome of the former Emperors; he was a Man of great perſonal Merit, and many conſiderable Employments, beſides his Intereſt at Court was very ſtrong by the means of *Conſtantine* the Chamberlain, his Wife's Brother. Depending therefore too much upon his own Strength, and the Emperor's Minority, he grew ſo confident of raiſing himſelf one Day to his projected Greatneſs, that he openly declar'd his Title to the Imperial Dignity. *Romanus* on the other Hand, had ingratiated himſelf by a long ſeries of Services render'd to the Emperor and his Father, tho' it appear'd afterwards that all his Deſigns in private were to the Advancement of himſelf and Family. *Theodore*, the Emperor's School-Maſter, had diligently examin'd into *Leo*'s Actions, and, upon good Grounds, foreſaw the Danger his Pupil was in, and perſuaded him to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him by the Aſſiſtance of *Romanus*, whom he adviſ'd him to chuſe for his Pro-

rector. *Romanus* at first, with great Obstinacy, refus'd to accept the Charge, 'till he was invited to it by the Emperor's own Letters, and *Leo*'s ambitious Practices, whom he would not suffer to hasten with more speed to the Sovereignty than himself, so that at last he privately undertook to frustrate the Attempts of *Leo* and his Adherents.

These Negotiations were not manag'd with so much Secrecy, but *Constantine* the Chamberlain had Intimation of it. Notwithstanding which he presum'd so much upon his Power, that he ventur'd to go shortly after to the Fleet with the Treasure assign'd for the Payment of the Seamen, where *Romanus*, by a plausible Carriage having gotten him into the Snare, immediately seiz'd and confin'd him. This Accident made so great a Noise in the City, that nothing less than a Revolt was expected; and when *Zoe* sent to know the meaning of these Proceedings, and to require the Chamberlain to be set at Liberty, she receiv'd no other Answer than that all was owing to *Leo*'s ill Management in the Army, and *Constantine* the Chamberlain's Behaviour at Court.

Zoe, the Emperor's Mother, remov'd from the Government.

Shortly after this the Emperor recall'd the Patriarch, and some others, whom his Mother at the beginning of her Administration had remov'd; and, tho' she very importunately desir'd the contrary, remov'd her from the Management, and so more openly expos'd himself to the Designs of those who were preparing to oppress him. *Leo* was turn'd out of all his Employments, together with all such as were related to him. Whereat being justly alarm'd, and dreading what might follow, he went privately to *Romanus*, and in a most moving manner lamented the Straits to which he was reduc'd. *Romanus*, being sensible how considerable a Man *Leo* was, as well in regard of his personal Interest as powerful Alliances, chose rather to soften and encourage him with fair Promises for the present, than offend and exasperate him before his own Designs were ripe for Execution. Upon which

which Consideration he receiv'd him with a great deal of outward Respect, and a League of Friendship was contracted between 'em, which was to be strengthen'd by an intended Inter-Marriage of their Children.

Romanus having thus, in a great measure, as he thought, disarm'd *Leo*, and purg'd the Court of such as were averse to his Proceedings, he went thither himself to answer, as he pretended, the Crimes that had been urg'd against him, and to prove that he had done nothing but what consisted with the Safety of the State, and the Security of the Emperor, which had been so apparently threaten'd by *Leo*'s Faction; when that was done he solemnly oblig'd himself, under the most dreadful Imprecations, never to attempt any thing against the Emperor's Person or Dignity, but hazard his Life for the Preservation of both. *Romanus* behav'd himself in all these Transactions with so much outward Integrity, that the young Prince was easily perswaded to marry his Daughter *Helena*, and confer on him the Title of Father to the Emperor; after which he made his Son *Christopher* Commander in chief of the Associates, which at that time was esteem'd one of the highest Dignities in the Empire.

Constantine *marries* Romanus *his Daughter.*

These extraordinary Favours to *Romanus* provok'd *Leo*, who had for a long time been a Male-content, to break out into an open Rebellion, which it was the Favourite's Interest as well as Duty to crush in its Birth. *Leo*, being assisted by the Chamberlain, and some others of great Interest in the State, gave out in his publick Declarations, that what he did was in behalf of the Emperor, whom he endeavour'd to free from the Power and Authority of *Romanus*; which plausible Pretence seduc'd many to declare for him, and had not *Romanus* taken Care to have the Emperor's Letters, wherein he acknowledg'd *Romanus* his Father, and declar'd *Leo* a Traitor, and an Enemy to him and his Family, produc'd in the Camp, he had, in all probability,

probability, created great Troubles in the Empire. But when the Chief Officers, and others, that were with *Leo*, found the Letters sign'd by the Emperor himself, and seal'd with his own Seal, they withdrew from *Leo*, and return'd to their Duty. They were shortly after follow'd by the rest of the Army, so that *Leo* was forc'd to fly and secure himself in a Castle call'd *Arcas*, where he was shortly after taken Prisoner, and had his Eyes pluck'd out, whereby he was render'd incapable of any further Innovations.

Romanus had hardly remov'd the Dangers that were threaten'd him by an open Rebellion, before he had like to have been taken off by a private Conspiracy, carry'd on by some who under-hand had favour'd *Leo's* Attempts; but having declin'd declaring publickly for him, they escap'd the Punishment, tho' they still preserv'd the Spirit of the Party. Among these were *Michael*, the Master of the Ordnance, who had persuaded several young Men to attempt to kill him as he went out to Hunt. Tho' the Conspirators thought the thing was manag'd with all imaginable Privacy, yet was it happily discover'd to *Romanus*, who, having pluck'd out all their Eyes, led 'em in an ignominious manner about, having order'd *Leo* to be expos'd with them as a Companion, as well in their Crime as Punishment. *Romanus* his Jealousies were so alarm'd by these Attempts, that he proceeded in a severe manner against all those on whom he could fix the least Suspicion. Among the rest *Zoe* the Empress was shaven, and thrust into a Monastery, and even *Theodore*, the Emperor's School-Master, who had so eminently contributed to his Advancement, was sent into Exile.

Κωνσταντίνος ὁ τοῦ Μαρμάνου.

Zoe the Empress forc'd into a Monastery.

A. D. 919. *Romanus crown'd Emperor.*

These Proceedings having, in a short time, remov'd all his Competitors out of the way, he was declar'd *Cæsar*, and afterwards crown'd Emperor in a most solemn manner by the Hands of the Patriarch. *Constantine* all the while silently permitting, rather than openly allowing of what was done, whilst *Romanus*

manus, in Breach of his former Oath, at once invaded the Dignity, and insulted the Person of the Emperor; for not long after having caus'd his Wife *Theodora*, and Son *Christopher* to be crown'd, he commanded that he himself should be esteem'd and nam'd Emperor in the first place, and that *Constantine* should be contented with the second. This he pretended was the only way to prevent Conspiracies, with which he was continually alarm'd. For notwithstanding all his Care and Caution to the contrary, there were still remaining several generous resolute Spirits, who, disdaining the Dominion of an Upstart Favourite, attempted to release the helpless young Emperor out of his arrogant Controul, and restore the Imperial Authority to its proper Channel. Several Projects were set on Foot to that purpose, and the Usurper was frequently in Danger of his Life. However his good Fortune prevail'd, and they were all seasonably discover'd before any could be brought to Execution.

In the midst of these Plots and Contrivances against him, he sought to strengthen and support himself by some powerful Alliances, and marry'd his Daughter *Agatha* to *Leo*, the Son of *Argyrus*, a Man nobly descended, and of a Soul and Body excellently well qualify'd; at the same time he preferr'd others of that Family to the most considerable Employments of the Empire.

Romanus had hardly secur'd himself from the Attempts of his Enemies at home, before he was threaten'd with more imminent Dangers from abroad: For the *Bulgarians*, taking an Advantage from the Distractions of the State, made an Irruption into the Empire, and meeting with no Resistance in their Course, they threaten'd *Constantinople* it self, as formerly they had frequently done. Against these *Romanus* sent his Son-in-Law *Leo*, and his Brother *Pothus Argyrus*, together with one *John*, who, running away in a great Fright at the first Onset, gave occasion

The Bulgarians Invade the Empire.

occasion to a Defeat, which was attended by a miserable Slaughter of the *Romans*. After this the War was carry'd on for several Years with various Success, tho' the *Bulgarians*, for the most part, prevail'd, burning and destroying all before 'em. At length *Simeon*, encourag'd by his Course of good Fortune in the Wars, march'd at the Head of as powerful an Army as he was able to raise, with an Intent to Besiege *Constantinople* it self. In his Passage he wasted all *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, putting sufficient Garrisons into such Places as were defensible, and levelling the rest with the Ground. Having encamp'd his Army at *Blachernæ*, by a Messenger he demanded the Patriarch and some others might be sent out of the City to treat of a Peace, with which *Romanus* readily comply'd, and Hostages were exchang'd on both sides accordingly. After some time spent in the Conference *Simeon* requir'd an Interview between himself and *Romanus*, *whom*, he said, *he esteem'd a prudent and upright Man*, to which *Romanus* willingly condescended. When all things were prepar'd on both sides for the meeting, *Romanus* went first, attended by the Principal of the Nobility, to the Place of Conference, whither *Simeon* follow'd shortly after; to whom *Romanus* address'd himself in these Terms:

Romanus his Speech to the King of Bulgaria.

You are reputed a Christian, and a Servant to the same God whom we adore, but your Actions in no measure agree with that Character. If you are in reality, what you outwardly profess, a sincere Christian, put a stop at length to these cruel Devastations. Behold us the Professors of the same Faith with your self; let not therefore the Thirst of Ambition any longer divide those whom our Holy Faith has united. You are a Man subject to the same Infirmities of Nature with us; as such you must live in a daily Expectation of Death, and a firm Assurance of a Resurrection, when you will be call'd to give a just Account of all your Actions, as a Man, a Prince, and a Christian. Let these Thoughts teach you to act with Moderation, and to sheath your Sword, already polluted with the effusion of too much

Christian

Christian Blood. If what has been done proceeds from a Covetous Mind, and Desire of Riches, the Treasures of the Empire shall be open'd to bribe you to your Duty. Let us no longer, by our unnatural Wars, give the Infidels an Occasion to triumph over us, but rather study to cultivate a Peace between both Nations, as the God of Peace has us'd join'd us.

It is more than probable that *Simeon* met *Romanus* with Thoughts quite different from the pretended Intent of that Interview, because, during the Preparations for it, he sent a Body of Soldiers to burn the Church of *our Lady at the Fountain*, which had been built by the Emperor *Justinian*, by which he made it appear, that he was no ways inclin'd to Peace. Notwithstanding which he was so nearly touch'd with *Romanus* his Speech, that he apply'd himself in good earnest to it, and having sign'd the Treaty he return'd home richly laden with Presents from the Emperor. *A Peace concluded between Simeon and the Romans.*

Whilst the *Bulgarians* were thus busy'd in assaulting the Empire by Land, the *Saracens*, with a strong Fleet, invaded the Sea-Coasts and Islands. At first they met with no Opposition from the *Romans*, which made 'em act with more Confidence and Security. But *John*, the Admiral, fell suddenly upon 'em whilst they lay at *Lemnos*, and attack'd 'em with so much Execution that very few escap'd. This Success against the *Saracens*, and the Peace lately concluded with the *Bulgarians*, which was solely attributed to *Romanus* his prudent Management, serv'd very much to augment his Power and Reputation with the People, so that with the general Acclamations of all he caus'd his Sons, *Stephen* and *Constantine*, to be crown'd Emperors: The Emperor *Constantine* sitting all this while as an idle Spectator, enjoying only the Shadow of that Power which his Rival possess'd in reality. A. D. 928.

About the same time *Thrace*, which had suffer'd so much in the late *Bulgarian* Wars, was visited by most horrible Earthquakes, which overturn'd several Churches, and swallow'd up great Numbers of Men and Houses. *Great Earthquakes in Thrace.*

Tho'

Tho' *Simeon*, the King of *Bulgaria*, had concluded a Peace with the Emperor, yet, being a reſtleſs turbulent Prince, he did not long enjoy the Fruits of it; for he ſhortly after pick'd a Quarrel with ſome of his Neighbours, and loſt his Life in the Diſpute, which introduc'd new Troubles in *Bulgaria*. For the neighbouring Nations, who had been provok'd by his unjuſt Invaſions, prepar'd to fall upon the *Bulgarians*, at the ſame time that they labour'd under a grievous Famine at home. *Peter*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom, was directed by the Councils of *George Suſarbulus*, his Mother's Brother, who, fearing the *Romans* would be encourag'd by their preſent Calamities to fall ſuddenly upon 'em, adviſ'd the young Prince to Invade them firſt, which perhaps might make way for an advantageous Treaty. Accordingly *Peter* made an Inroad into *Macedonia*, where, when he was inform'd that *Romanus* the Emperor was marching at the Head of a great Army againſt him, his Uncle adviſ'd him to offer ſome Propoſals for a Peace, which was to be ſtrengthen'd by a ſtricter Alliance, if the Emperor thought fit to give him his Daughter in Marriage. The Overture was very acceptable to *Romanus*, ſo that after ſeveral Internegotiations, during which *George*, the King's Uncle, and ſeveral others the moſt Eminent among the *Bulgarians*, were entertain'd with great reſpect at *Conſtantinople*, *Romanus* went in Perſon to receive the young King at the Caſtle of *Blachernæ* where the Nuptials were celebrated with much Solemnity. Here, by *Romanus* his Artifices, the *Bulgarians* ſeem'd highly to reſent that *Conſtantine*, the true and lawful Emperor, ſhould be ſuffer'd to take Place of *Chriſtopher*, who was the Son of ſo active and vigilant a Prince. Whereupon *Romanus*, with a ſeeming reluctancy, was prevail'd upon to let his Son *Chriſtopher* have the upper Hand, endeavouring thus by degrees to raiſe all his Family above him, who was once his Lord and Maſter.

Simeon dies.

His Succeſſor Invades Macedonia,

but concludes a Peace, and marries Romanus *his Daughter.*

In

In the mean time, whilst *Romanus* was thus employ'd with his Sons at home, *John Curcuas*, his General in *Syria*, acted with so much Success against the *Saracens* in those Parts, that having laid Siege to the City of *Melitena*, and taken it, he subjected the whole Country to the Emperor, who reduc'd it to the Form of a Province, and by that means improv'd the publick Revenues to a great degree. The Joy conceiv'd at *Constantinople* from the Recovery of so considerable a Branch to the Empire, was interrupted by a Plague which rag'd with the utmost Violence in that populous City. That Calamity was succeeded by another no less terrible, for a Fire broke out near the *Forum* of the blessed Virgin, which destroy'd a great Number of their fairest Buildings. And on the fourth Day of *August*, that same Year, *Christopher*, *Romanus* his eldest Son, dy'd, to the great Affliction of his Father, who suspected him to be taken off by Treachery.

Whilst *Romanus* was lamenting the loss of his Son, *Basilius*, a *Macedonian*, pretending himself to be *Constantinus Ducas*, who was slain in the beginning of this Emperor's Reign, gave a beginning to fresh Disturbances in the Empire. *Romanus* had met with many Difficulties to contend with during his Usurpation of the Imperial Power, tho' hardly any that gave him more Trouble than this. *Basilius* was a bold cunning Man, ready to improve whatever Advantages Fortune and his own Industry presented him with. He had taken Care not to declare himself 'till the Distempers of the State had given him a fair Opportunity for it. He knew *Romanus* was fear'd rather than belov'd, even by those who pretended to be the most faithful to him, and that he was so passionately hated by many others, that they would lay hold on all Occasions to undo him. It is hard to be believ'd how readily the People receiv'd whatever *Basilius* at his first Appearance affirm'd, so that *Romanus*, who knew how much it consisted with his Interest to sup-

New Disturbances.

press

preſs him, try'd all ways to get him into his Power, which at length he effected by a Captain in the Army, who, having ſeiz'd him by a Stratagem, carry'd him to *Conſtantinople*, where *Romanus* commanded one of his Hands to be cut off, and then, thinking him uncapable of giving him any further Diſturbance, turn'd him looſe for freſh Adventures. *Baſilius*, having got a Braſs Hand to ſupply the room of that he had loſt, return'd to his former Artifices, and in a ſhort time got ſuch a Multitude of credulous People together, that he ſeiz'd on a ſtrong Caſtle, from whence he iſſu'd out in Parties, and waſted all the Country round about. The Obſtinacy of *Baſilius* very much alarm'd *Romanus*, who thought he never could have perſiſted with ſo much Conſtancy in his Deſigns, had he not been privately ſupported by ſome of the great Men at Court; for which reaſon, after he had with much Trouble got him once more into his Power, he endeavour'd, by Torture, to diſcover who of the Nobility had been acceſſary to his Crime; but when he found he could draw no Confeſſion from him, he order'd him to be burnt alive. After this the Affairs of the Empire ſeem'd to put on a new Face, for the *Ruſſi*, Inhabitants of *Podolia* in *Poland*, with no leſs than ten or fifteen thouſand Veſſels, having infeſted the Coaſts of the Empire, receiv'd ſo abſolute a Defeat through the Vigilance of *Theophanes* the Admiral, that very few eſcap'd home with the News of their Misfortunes. About the ſame time the whole Strength of the *Saracen* Army was broken by *Theophilus*, the Governor of *Meſopotamia*, who in ſeveral ſucceſsful Engagements deſtroy'd great Multitudes of 'em. During theſe Publick Felicities *Romanus* confirm'd an honourable Alliance with *Hugh*, the King of *Italy*, whoſe Daughter was marry'd to *Romanus* his Grandſon, the Son of *Conſtantine* the Sixth; in purſuance of this Alliance the Emperor aſſiſted the *Italians* with a ſtrong Fleet, with which they deſtroy'd the Navy of the *Saracens*.

The Ruſſi *defeated by the* Romans.

These

These publick Felicities were follow'd shortly after by such a Revolution as prov'd fatal to *Romanus* and his Family. Being, as he thought, arriv'd to the height of all human Greatness, and having nothing to apprehend either at home or abroad, he endeavour'd to ingratiate himself with the People, and in some measure expiate his Usurpation by several Acts of Charity and Devotion, which however could not divert the Divine Vengeance that was ready to overtake him. For the Money he dispos'd of, as *Zonaras* observes, was none of his own, but belong'd to the Sovereign Power which he had unjustly usurp'd, and defrauded another of his Right, enjoying all the Imperial Wealth by Virtue of his Usurpation; what Merit then had he if he conferr'd a small part of it on the needy? Like him who having kill'd his Neighbour's Ox, presumes he has made a sufficient Reparation, if reserving the rest to his own use, he gives the Feet to the Poor.

All this while *Constantine*, the legal Emperor, liv'd without Authority or Respect, and had been little better than an Imperial Prisoner for almost twenty six Years together, and as some will have it, was reduc'd to so low a Necessity as to be forc'd to work for his own Maintenance. 'Tis highly probable the great Contempt *Romanus* had of his Person and Capacity, made him attempt nothing against his Life during his Usurpation, but the Event show'd that the greatest Danger often arises from those, at whose Hands it is least expected. Tho' *Constantine* had endeavour'd to conceal his Indignation, and had by that means betray'd the Usurper into a fatal Security, yet he secretly attended the first Opportunity of recovering his former Dignity. *Romanus*, in all outward Appearance, was the Favourite of Fortune, and yet was he very unhappy in his own Family. He had lost his eldest Son *Christopher*, as has been before observ'd, and had been several times highly provok'd by the undutiful Carriage of *Stephen* the

youngeſt. *Conſtantine* had privately gain'd over to his Intereſt ſome Perſons that were in great Eſteem with *Romanus* and his Sons; among theſe were *Baſilius Volucer*, a Man of a ready Wit, and long Experience in Affairs of State; and *Marianus* a Monk, the Son of *Leo Argyrus*. Theſe Perſons, preſuming upon the Credit of their Friendſhip, repreſented to *Stephen*, *How unworthy it was for a Man of his Age, Intereſt and Capacity, to ſuffer the weight of Empire to hang on the decrepit Shoulders of his aged Father, and not to take the Reins into his own Hands. They reminded him how unkind his Father had been to him, and what mighty Things he was in all probability likely to do in behalf of his eldeſt Brother* Conſtantine, *and to his Prejudice.* They ſtrengthen'd all with the Promiſe *of a ready Aſſiſtance from his Brother-in-Law* Conſtantine *the Emperor, who would gladly ſhare the Empire with him, but was offended to ſee it divided among ſo many.*

A. D. 944. *Stephen* was a Man fiery and ambitious, but of a very weak Underſtanding, ſo that he greedily ſwallow'd the Bait they had laid for him, and joining in Council with them, reſolv'd to remove his Father, which they knew was the firſt Step towards the Reeſtabliſhment of *Conſtantine*. Accordingly he order'd his Father, by their Aſſiſtance, to be ſeiz'd on the ſixteenth of *December*, and carry'd into the Iſland *Prota*, where he was ſhaven, and thruſt into a Monaſtery. This was the deſerved End of *Romanus* his Uſurpation, who ow'd his Advancement to his own Diſloyalty, and his Deſtruction to his Son's Diſobedience.

Romanus depos'd by his own Son.

Conſtantine, the Brother of *Stephen*, having in no meaſure been conſenting to his Father's Dethronement, entertain'd an implacable Malice to *Stephen*, who expreſs'd as ſmall a Regard for him. Of this Miſunderſtanding between the two Brothers, *Conſtantine* the Emperor, and his Friends, endeavour'd to make their Advantage. Being thus divided as they were

were into Factions, they were the more easily to be oppress'd, especially at a Time when the Disgrace of the Father had subjected the whole Family to the Contempt and Indignation of the People, who are naturally fond of a Change. *Constantine*, pretending to desire a Reconciliation between the two Brothers, invited 'em to an Entertainment, whither they readily came without any Suspicion of what had been contriv'd against them. But in the midst of their Jollity they were both seiz'd by the Emperor's Order, and being banish'd, they were by Virtue of the same Authority shaven and made Clerks. *Stephen* out-liv'd his Misfortunes many Years, and dy'd at *Lesbos*; but his Brother grew so impatient under his Afflictions, that having kill'd one of his Keepers in *Samathracia*, who prevented him, as he was attempting his Escape, the rest fell in great Rage upon him, and slew him.

Thus, by the Destruction of *Romanus* and his Family, *Constantine* once more recover'd his former Dignity, and became sole Emperor. His first Care was to reward those who had been instrumental in his Restoration, and prevent any future Designs that might be form'd against him. Accordingly he promoted *Basilius Volucer* to the Command of the Associates, *Marianus Argyrus* he made Master of the Horse, and advanc'd the rest of his Friends to such Preferments as he thought their late Services had sufficiently deserv'd. Shortly after, on *Easter*-Day, he crown'd his Son *Romanus*, and at the same Time having gelded *Romanus*, the Son of *Stephen*, he oblig'd him and the rest of his Relations to enter into Orders. His Son *Romanus*, whom he had by *Helena*, the Usurper's Daughter, had formerly been marry'd to *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Hugh*, King of *France*, who being dead, the Emperor thought it highly necessary to marry him again, and after some Deliberation, bestow'd on him *Theophania*, a Woman of most admirable Beauty, but descended of very sordid Parentage, therein chusing to comply with his amorous Desires, rather than consult the

Constantine restor'd to his former Dignity.

Reputation of his Family, or the Intereſt of the State.

We meet with little more, during the reſt of this Emperor's Reign, worthy our Obſervation. He is juſtly condemn'd by moſt Authors for his great Remiſſneſs in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, for addicting himſelf too much to Wine, and other ſenſual Entertainments; he committed the Management of all to his Wife *Helena*, and *Baſilius* his Favourite, who made a Market of the moſt conſiderable Employments in the Empire, and confer'd the Places of greateſt Truſt and Profit on thoſe who were able to give the moſt for 'em. Notwithſtanding this his great Negligence, he is on the other Hand worthily to be commended for his Encouragement ſhown to Learned Men, and his reſtoring of Learning to *Greece*, where it had lain languiſhing for a long time before. His want of Care in the Adminiſtration encourag'd *Theophanes* the Chamberlain, and ſeveral others of great Quality, to endeavour the Reſtoration of *Romanus*, or his Son *Stephen*, and to reeſtabliſh one or both of them in the Government; the Thing was ſo well concerted, and carry'd on with ſo much Secrecy, that *Romanus*, old as he was, entertain'd great Hopes of recovering his former Dignity; but a Contention ariſing between ſome of the Conſpirators, the Plot was diſcover'd, whereupon *Theophanes* and his Accomplices were baniſh'd. *Romanus* dy'd not long after, but his Son *Stephen* ſurviv'd to adminiſter freſh Diſtruſts to this Emperor and his Succeſſors.

A Conſpiracy detected.

Nor were theſe Attempts at home the only Difficulties *Conſtantine* had to contend withal, for the *Saracens*, not forgetting their ancient Animoſities, made frequent Inroads into the Empire; ſo that during all the Delights and Entertainments of the Court the War was continu'd on both ſides, and was committed to the Management of *Bardas Phocas*, and his two Sons, *Nicephorus* and *Leo*. *Bardas* did nothing himſelf that was anſwerable to the high Character he bore, entruſting all to the Care of his Lieutenants, eſpecially his Sons, who ſignaliz'd themſelves by their ma-

New Wars with the Saracens.

ny extraordinary Services; not were they more remarkable for their Valour and Conduct, by which they were render'd terrible to their Enemies, than their Care and Affection to those who serv'd under 'em, which made 'em the Delight of the Soldiers. *Leo* had, in a pitch'd Battel, overthrown the *Saracens*, and taken *Apolusemus*, nearly related to the Prince of that Nation, and a Man of great Authority among them. The Prisoner was sent to *Constantinople* by Order from the Emperor, who led him about in Triumph, and in an insulting manner trod upon his Neck. This indignity highly provok'd the Caliph, who having taken *Constantine*, *Bardas* his younger Son, endeavour'd by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when he found nothing would force him to turn Apostate, he treated him after a most barbarous manner, and at length poison'd him; at which *Phocas* was so enrag'd that he murder'd all the Relations of the Caliph, who had the Misfortune to fall into his Hands, whereupon the *Saracens* invaded the Empire with a greater Force than they had done any Time before. The Caliph carry'd with him *Nicetas*, a Patrician, and several other Persons of Quality that were his Prisoners, with an intent to kill 'em in sight of the *Roman* Army. *Nicetas* was a Man of an insinuating Temper, by which means he wonderfully wrought himself into the good Opinion of the Caliph, who, through a strange Credulity, made him acquainted with all his Designs, which he immediately communicated to *Phocas*, who lay in Ambush for him in a narrow Pass, and cut off the greatest part of his Army; the Caliph himself escap'd with a very small Retinue, but before his Flight kill'd all the Prisoners he had in his Custody, except *Nicetas*, who having corrupted his Keepers, got away at the beginning of the Engagement.

These frequent Inroads, and the continual Losses his Subjects sustain'd, especially from those who had once more settled in *Crete*, from whence they had formerly

merly been driven by *Basilius*, very much afflicted the Emperor, who therefore mann'd out a very considerable Fleet, on Board of which a strong Army imbark'd with Orders to try all means possible to expel 'em.

Had their Design been as manfully executed, as it was prudently laid, the Expedition had ended much to the Reputation and Safety of the Empire. But the Emperor made choice of *Constantine Gongylas*, one of the Bedchamber, for his General, who having had the greatest part of his Education in the Court, was an utter Stranger to the Arts of War, and entirely incapable of so considerable an Employment. Having landed his Army without any Opposition from the *Saracens*, who were altogether unprovided for so sudden a Descent, he neither took care to fortifie himself by any Works, nor sent out his Spies to gain Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, who observing as well the Negligence as Ignorance of the General, fell suddenly on the *Romans*, and totally defeated 'em. After a very great Slaughter, they took their Camp with all their Ammunition and Baggage, and had not some of the General's Guards defended him with an invincible Courage, he had undoubtedly fallen into their Hands. These Misfortunes, and the great Advantages the *Saracens* obtain'd on every side, were imputed by *Romanus*, the Emperor's Son, to the Age and Insufficiency of his Father; for which reason his Wife *Theophania*, who eagerly desir'd to be Absolute, easily perswaded him to conspire against him, and prevail'd with *Nicetas*, an Officer, who attended at the Table, to attempt his Life by Poison, which he administred to him instead of a purging Potion the Physicians had prescrib'd him. The Emperor, as he was about to drink it, either casually, or by design, stumbled, and spilt the greatest part of it, so that it had not the desir'd Effect, tho' he never after had the full enjoyment of his Health.

Constantine *in great danger by his Son's Practices.*

A. D. 960.

The *September* following, being uneasie in his Mind, and distemper'd in his Body, he took an unseasonable

seasonable Journey to the Mountain *Olympus*, to entreat, as it was given out, the Prayers of the Monks for Success in an Expedition he was then meditating against the *Saracens* in *Syria*, tho' his true Design was to consult with *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Cyzicus*, residing there, how to expel *Polyeuctus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; who, having too openly resented the Injuries done to *Romanus* and his Family, had incurr'd the Emperor's Displeasure. Whilst he was there he fell violently sick, either thro' the ill Habit of his Body, or for that his Son had proceeded further in his Practices upon him; so that perceiving the ill Condition he was in, he order'd himself to be carry'd back in a Litter to *Constantinople*, where he dy'd on the ninth of *November*, before he could execute what he had design'd against *Polyeuctus*, his inveterate Hatred to whom he carry'd with him to his Grave. *Curopalates* tells us, that some time before his Death several Stones fell with an unusual Violence from above into his Apartment. He, thinking they were thrown down from the upper Rooms, by some who had a Design upon his Life, order'd a Watch every Night, for the Thing was often repeated to the great Amazement of all that were about him, to try if they could discover the Offenders; but to no purpose, saith this Author, for they were sent down by a Divine Power, and not directed against him by any Human Contrivance. *He dies.*

We obsery'd before how much this Prince was addicted to Wine, and how careless in what related to the Government of the State. He is likewise condemn'd for his great Severity even towards the smallest Offenders, and the unhappy Choice of his Magistrates, which redounded much to his Dishonour, and the Detriment of the Publick. On the other Hand, being himself well skill'd in Arithmetick, Astronomy, Geometry, and all the Parts of Philosophy, as well Natural as Moral, he was a great Benefactor to learned Men, whom he sent for from all *His Character.*

Parts, and gave 'em unusual Encouragements. He was constant and sincere in his Devotions, seldom going to the Temple without adorning the Altar with Presents worthy an Emperor, and a true Lover of Jesus Christ. He advis'd his Son, before he dy'd, never to marry with any of the barbarous Nations, which he founded upon a Precept left by *Constantine* the Great, and the Canons of the Church. In this Emperor's Reign *Luitprandus* the Historian flourish'd, who so deservedly taxes the Bishops of those Times with Pride and Ambition. *Constantine* dy'd in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and fiftieth Year of his Reign, the fifth of *John* the Pope of *Rome*, and twenty fifth of *Otho* the Great Emperor of *Germany*, who is deservedly renown'd for his great Actions.

His Advice to his Son.

ROMANUS.

Constantine being dead, *Romanus* succeeded him without any Opposition in the Empire. He was surnam'd *the Boy*, to distinguish him from the other *Romanus* his Grandfather. They who had the Care of this Prince's Education in his Youth, indulg'd him in all the Licentiousness of a luxurious Court, which in the end prov'd very pernicious to the State; for tho' by Nature he seem'd capable of governing with Prudence and Moderation, yet they who were near his Person at his Advancement to the Imperial Dignity, took care so to entangle him in his Pleasures, to which Custom had too much inclin'd him, that the Management of Affairs might be left solely to them. These Practices quickly introduc'd a new Disposition in the Court, for *Romanus* not only recall'd such as had been banish'd by *Constantine* for their many Villanies, but preferr'd 'em to Posts of Profit and Honour. This was done at the Instigation of *Joseph* his Chamberlain, who being a Person of no real Merit, and for that reason dislik'd and despis'd by those that were, he endeavour'd to strengthen his Interest by the Friendship of such as were as unworthy as himself. Whilst this Man was thus carrying on his Intrigues, the Emperor wallow'd in all manner of Debau-

Debaucheries, associating himself with none of either Sex, but such as were able to gratifie him in his Filthiness. These Courses not only shorten'd his own Days, but had like to have prov'd destructive in the Issue to his whole Family. He had two Sons, the eldest of which, nam'd *Basilius*, he order'd to be crown'd by the Patriarch on *Easter*-Day, and imagining he had by that Act confirm'd to his Posterity what he enjoy'd in Person, he resign'd himself up without any further Care to his Debaucheries, committing the sole Management of Affairs at home to *Joseph*, and the Care of his Forces abroad to the Conduct of *Nicephorus Phocas*, whom his Father in his Life-time had declar'd his General.

Nicephorus *his Exploits against the Saracens.*

Nicephorus was a Person of extraordinary Merit, signaliz'd by his many Services to the State, and was now sent to command in an Expedition against the *Saracens* in *Crete*. Those of the Enemy that endeavour'd to oppose his Landing were easily defeated, after which he encamp'd himself, and secur'd his Ships in the Harbour. The *Saracens* came down with all the Forces of the Island against him, notwithstanding which in seven Months time he took almost all their strong Towns and Forts, and had undoubtedly recover'd the whole Island, had not *Joseph*, who grew jealous of his Success, perswaded the Emperor to recal him, by suggesting to him that there was a Tradition constantly receiv'd, *That he who conquer'd* Crete, *would in Time be Master of the* Roman *Empire*.

A. D. 963. Romanus.

Whilst *Nicephorus* was thus prevailing against the *Saracens* in *Crete*, his Brother *Leo* fought against 'em with equal Success in the East, where they propos'd to make a Descent, on purpose to divert the *Romans* from their Designs against *Crete*. *Leo* engag'd 'em at the Head of a small but resolute Army, and gave 'em such an Overthrow, that great Multitudes of 'em were kill'd upon the Place, and the rest sent Prisoners in great Droves to *Constantinople*, where all the Houses were fill'd with Slaves. After this *Leo* triumph'd, as he deserv'd, in the

Imperial

Imperial City, where he receiv'd Rewards proportionable to his Service done in the Expedition; but his Brother *Nicephorus*, tho' he had deserv'd as much as any Man, yet was he not permitted to come to Court, but was order'd to march with all his Forces into the East, where the *Saracen* General having recruited his Army after his late Defeat, was preparing for fresh Hostilities. *Nicephorus* march'd with so much Expedition against him, that he arriv'd in *Syria*, and offer'd him Battel before he had time to do any Mischief to the Subjects of the Empire. The Fight was manag'd with a great deal of Obstinacy on both Sides, but at length the Fortune of the *Romans* prevail'd, and the *Saracens*, after a great Slaughter, were put to a shameful Flight. The City of *Berrhea*, as a Consequence of the Victory, fell into the Conqueror's Hands, and *Nicephorus* found in it much Wealth, and many Prisoners, besides a Multitude of Christian Captives, who by this means were releas'd.

Nicephorus his Valour and Conduct had render'd him exceeding grateful to all, especially to *Theophania* the Empress, who being disgusted at the lewd Behaviour of *Romanus*, had entertain'd an extraordinary Esteem for *Nicephorus*. Of this *Joseph* was not ignorant, and therefore justly apprehending the Consequence of such a Disposition in the Empress, he endeavour'd, by all Arts imaginable, to prevent the General's Return to *Constantinople*. This he might, in all probability, very easily have effected, had not the Death of *Romanus* prevented him, who dy'd on the fifteenth Day of *March*, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age, and the third of his Reign. Some say he was poison'd, and that by the Procurement of the Empress her self; others impute his Death to his great Intemperance, and his immoderate Use of Wine and Women.

A.D. 963. Romanus *dies.*

The Death of *Romanus* introduc'd a new Face of Affairs in the Court and Empire. The late Emperor had left behind him two Sons, *Basilius* and *Constantine*, who

who being very young, the Empress was declar'd Regent, who immediately commanded *Nicephorus* to return to *Constantinople*, where he triumph'd in the Circus, and gratify'd the People with the sight of the rich Spoils he had taken in *Crete*, and at *Berrhœa*: *Joseph*, who very much suspected his ambitious Designs, in vain opposing it. *Nicephorus*, during his Stay at *Constantinople*, endeavour'd by a religious Artifice to remove the Suspicions of the Prime Minister. In a private Conference he had obtain'd from him at his own House, he told him very gravely, how desirous he had been for a long Time to retire from the World, and the Vanities that abounded in it, but had been all the while prevented by the Kindness of his several Masters, who forc'd Employments of the greatest Trust upon him. At the same Time, as an Instance of his great Devotion, he show'd him a Hair Shirt, which he pretended he wore constantly next his Skin. *Joseph*, surpriz'd at his Behaviour, and the sight of his Shirt, fell at his Feet, and with Tears in his Eyes begg'd his Pardon, declaring, that for the future he would believe nothing that should be urg'd against him.

Nicephorus *triumphs at* Constantinople.

After this *Nicephorus*, by *Joseph*'s Advice, was sent with fresh Power into the East, where the Motions of the *Saracens* seem'd to require his Presence. *Nicephorus* his Arms were crown'd with his usual Success, which ingratiated him every Day more and more with the Soldiers and the People; but at the same Time it reviv'd the Jealousies of *Joseph*, who began to repent that he had let him escape out of his Hands, and seriously consider'd which was the readiest way to destroy him. *Joseph* was so imprudent as to commit the Execution of his Designs to two of the Principal Commanders in the East, promising to make one of 'em General in Chief of the Imperial Forces in the East, and the other of those in the West, provided they would, by some means or other, remove *Nicephorus* out of the way. These Persons were Men of great

great Interest and Authority in the Army, and ow'd their Advancement, in a great measure, to *Nicephorus* his Friendship, to whom they deliver'd the Letters they had receiv'd from *Joseph*, and advis'd him to provide for his own Safety, by taking upon himself the Imperial Dignity. This he oppos'd at first with a seeming Bravery, but having receiv'd great Encouragement from the Empress, with whom he entertain'd a constant Correspondence, he suffer'd the Towns of the East to salute him Emperor, and prepar'd with great Diligence to make good his Title.

NICEPHORUS.

Nicephorus was not more belov'd and esteem'd by the People for his Valour and Affability, than *Joseph* was contemn'd by 'em for his Pride and Arrogance, so that the Citizens of *Constantinople* receiv'd the News of these Proceedings in the East with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy imaginable. *Joseph*'s House, with all those of his Party, were levell'd with the Ground by the tumultuous Rabble, and the Streets rebounded with joyful Acclamations to *Nicephorus Callinicus*, or *the Brave Conqueror*. *Bardas*, the Father of *Nicephorus*, upon the first Report of his Son's Promotion, had taken Sanctuary in the great Church; but when he observ'd that the People, with a general Concurrence, declar'd in his Favour, he came out, and in the Emperor's Pinnace, which was follow'd by the rest of the Fleet, he sail'd down to *Chrysopolis*, whither the Army had by this time conducted their new Prince. From *Chrysopolis* he was brought up to the *Hebdomus*, where he was met by the People, who accompany'd him with much Solemnity into the City, where he was crown'd on the sixteenth of *August*, by the Hands of *Polyeuctus* the Patriarch.

Nicephorus *crown'd Emperor at* Constantinople.

A. D. 963.

Nicephorus, being thus acknowledg'd and crown'd Emperor, banish'd *Joseph* into *Paphlagonia*, where he ended his Life two Years after in a Monastery. *Bardas*, the Emperor's Father, was declar'd *Cæsar*; and *Nicephorus*, thinking he might now with great Safety throw off the Mask, marry'd the Empress *Theophania*;

in

in which he was at first oppos'd by the Patriarch, for that he had been marry'd before, and because it was reported that he once stood God-father to one of *Theophania*'s Children, which she had by her former Husband, and that Spiritual Alliance in those Days was thought a just Matrimonial Impediment. *Polyeuctus* proceeded so far as to Excommunicate the Emperor, but when in a Synod summon'd at *Constantinople* the Matter was examin'd, the Patriarch concurr'd with the rest of the Bishops, and restor'd him to the Church, tho' the Emperor never forgave him the Affront as long as he liv'd. The *Saracens* that inhabited *Sicily* had, even since the Reign of *Basilius Macedo*, exacted a Tribute from the Western Provinces of the Empire, which they had been forc'd to pay either through the Ignorance or Knavery of those who had been sent to Command in those Parts. The Payment of this Tribute *Nicephorus* thought highly detrimental to the Honour and Reputation of the Empire, and for that Reason he undertook a War against them.

Accordingly having rais'd a very powerful Army he committed it to the Conduct of *Manuel*, his Uncle *Leo*'s base Son. *Manuel* was a young hot-headed Patrician, so fond of his own Notions, that he was deaf to the wholesome Advice of those to whose Councils he ought to have inclin'd, and by that means lost both himself and his Army; for the *Saracens*, having drawn him into the most craggy and unpassable Parts of *Sicily*, with great ease cut him off. The Sense of this Disgrace was, in a great measure, alleviated by *John Zimisces* his Success in *Cilicia*, where having defeated a great Number of the *Saracens*, about five thousand of 'em quitted their Horses, and gain'd an advantageous Hill, where they resolv'd to defend themselves to the last, depending much upon the Situation of the Place, which they judg'd inaccessible. *Zimisces*, observing their Resolution, judg'd it proper to follow 'em their own way, so that quitting

The Romans defeated by the Saracens in Sicily.

ring his Horſe he march'd himſelf at the Head of his Foot, and with an irreſiſtible Courage fell upon them. The *Saracens* receiv'd him with an obſtinate Bravery, and fought with ſo much Reſolution, that not one of 'em turn'd his Back, but they were all ſlain upon the Spot, and ſuch Streams of Blood iſſu'd from their Bodies, and roll'd down into the Plain, that the Hill, where the Action was perform'd, was from that time forward call'd the *Bloody Hill*.

A. D. 964. Nicephorus *his Expedition.*

The Year following, being the ſecond of his Reign, *Nicephorus* ſent an Army againſt the *Saracens* in *Cyprus*, which he recover'd from 'em, and reannext it to the Dominions of the Empire. In the Month of *July*, the ſame Year, taking his Wife and Children with him, he march'd himſelf into *Cilicia* at the Head of a gallant Army, conſiſting partly of his own Subjects, and partly of his Aſſociates. There he took three of their ſtrongeſt Cities from the *Saracens*, beſides ſeveral Caſtles; and having left a ſtrong Guard to ſecure his Conqueſts, he winter'd with the reſt of his Army in *Cappadocia*. *Tarſus* and *Mopſueſtia* were Places too conſiderable to be attempted at that time of the Year, when the Seaſon was ſo far advanc'd; and therefore returning in the Spring he divided his Forces into two Parts, and gave his Brother *Leo* Orders to fall upon *Tarſus* with one, whilſt he led the other in Perſon againſt *Mopſueſtia*. The Inhabitants of *Mopſueſtia* defended themſelves for a conſiderable time, 'till being weaken'd, as well by Famine as the Sword, the City was taken, and the moſt forward among the Defendants put to Death. The Fate of *Mopſueſtia* very much diſhearten'd the Beſieg'd in *Tarſus*, ſo that they ſurrender'd the City three Days before a Fleet from *Egypt* arriv'd to their Aſſiſtance. The Soldiers on Board the Fleet attempted no Land, but meeting with a Repulſe they prepar'd to return home, when a Storm overtook 'em, which deſtroy'd a great Number of their Ships, and moſt of the reſt fell into the Hands of the *Romans*.

The Saracen *Fleet deſtroy'd.*

After

After this he invaded *Syria*, where having conquered all the Towns and Forts that had the Courage to resist him, and made 'em Tributary to the Empire, he march'd forward and sat down before *Antioch*. The Town was well supply'd with a numerous Garrison, and great plenty of Provision, whereas the Emperor's Army began to stand in need of many Necessaries, so that Winter drawing on he thought it best to raise his Siege, and return to *Constantinople*. Some affirm he might easily have taken the City, but declin'd it by reason of a Prophecy, which declar'd that *whatever Emperor took that City he would not be long liv'd after it*. 'Tis certain that when *Burtzas*, the Lieutenant-General, whom the Emperor had left behind to secure his Conquests in those Parts, and who lay with a Body of his Forces near that Place, watching an Opportunity, surpriz'd the City in the Emperor's Absence, and thereby did the Empire a considerable piece of Service; *Nicephorus*, instead of rewarding him as he deserv'd, turn'd him out of his Employment, and forbad him the Court, which provok'd *Burtzas* to join himself with *Zimisces*, who in the end depriv'd *Nicephorus* both of Empire and Life. Had *Nicephorus* behav'd himself with as much Prudence and Moderation at home, as he fought with Valour and Success abroad, his Reign might have been long and glorious; but he is a strong Instance to us of the Unhappiness of that Prince that does not endeavour to reign in the Hearts of his People. The Dominions of the Empire were very much enlarg'd during his Reign, but his Subjects receiv'd no other Benefit from his Conquests than to be oppress'd with a heavier Hand. He indulg'd the Soldiers in all manner of Licentiousness, and at the same time us'd the Citizens with the utmost Severity. The Senators, the Bishops, the Patriarch himself met with the same Treatment from him, being no better dispos'd to them than to the meanest of the People. He stopp'd such Pensions as the Senators us'd to receive

Antioch recover'd from the Saracens.

Nicephorus his Management at home.

ceive out of the Treasury, and forbad the Payment of such Exhibitions as had been assign'd by his Predecessors towards the Maintenance of Churches, Monasteries, and to other Pious Uses; and made a Law, whereby it was prohibited to give any more Lands to the Church. At the same time he challeng'd to himself the Right of Presentation to vacant Bishopricks; and having, with a thrifty Hand, defray'd the Expence of a Funeral, he sent his Officers to seize on the rest of the Revenue belonging to the deceas'd. Under a Pretence of the extraordinary Sums that were requir'd to carry on his Wars, he laid new Impositions upon his Subjects; so that all Parts of his Dominions swarm'd with Collectors and Informers, who often seiz'd on all, and ruin'd whole Families at once: And that nothing might be wanting to incense the Multitude against him, he debas'd the Coin, causing some of less Value to be made than what at that time was current, and exacted all Payments to himself to be made in the greater Sort, and all Issues out of the Treasury to be made in the less, and inhanc'd the Price of his own Coins above those of his Predecessors, tho' they were the same as to their Intrinsick Value; all which Practices prov'd extreamly prejudicial to Trade, and consequently rais'd the Price of all Commodities. Whilst the People were thus inrag'd against him, he began, at a great Expence, to fortifie the Imperial Palace, pulling down several beautiful Buildings, belonging to private Persons that stood adjoining to it, to make room for a Cittadel erected for its Security, in which he built Granaries and Store-houses supply'd with all manner of Provisions. Shortly after a grievous Famine arose, occasion'd by the scorching Winds that had blasted the Corn. His Behaviour to the People confirm'd the implacable Hatred they had conceiv'd against him; for having his own Magazines, during that Scarcity, sufficiently stor'd, he sold Wheat to the People at more than a double Price; so that

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an old Man came to the Emperor, whilſt he was muſtering his Soldiers, and deſir'd to be enroll'd among 'em; and when *Nicephorus* demanded, *Why he, who was ſo aged, and conſequently infirm, ſhould deſire to undergo the Fatigues of War?* The Man reply'd, *He found himſelf ſtronger now than he had been in his Youth, for he was able to carry as much Corn now upon his Back, as he then us'd to load upon two Aſſes.*

The general Temper of the People, and their vow'd Averſion towards him, encourag'd *Zimiſces* and ſeveral others to conſpire againſt him. *Zimiſces* had render'd him ſeveral important Services, and ſo had *Burtzas* the Patrician, notwithſtanding which they had both been diſmiſs'd with Diſgrace; and *Theophania* the Empreſs, tho' ſhe had formerly labour'd ſo earneſtly for his Advancement, was now engag'd with thoſe that ſought his Deſtruction. Several Reaſons are aſſign'd for this Change in her, ſome alledging that ſhe apprehended his Deſign was to Geld her Sons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, and declare his Brother *Leo* his Succeſſor; others affirm, that he was too Chaſte a Bedfellow for a Woman of her Conſtitution, being wont to ſleep on the Ground, to which he had been accuſtom'd from his Youth. The Deſcription of his Perſon, which we meet with in *Baronius* and others, ſeems to confirm this Suggeſtion, and makes us wonder not ſo much how ſhe came to loath him now, as for what Reaſon ſhe could love him at firſt; unleſs it be that ſome Women are often touch'd with the Reputation of Valour and Bravery, but are of too delicate a Taſte to be long affected with it. Some ſay that ten Days before his Death a Writing was left in his Chamber, in which he was adviſ'd to provide for his own Safety, and take Care of *Zimiſces*; and that he, imagining the Paper contain'd ſome Petition, let it lye on his Table without opening it. Others add, that he did open and read it, but that his Fate preſſing hard upon him he took no Warning from it, tho' he is ſaid to have ſent Orders to his Brother *Leo*,

Ad Ann. 968.

the Night before he was kill'd, to come strongly arm'd to his Defence; and that *Leo* being engag'd at Chess, a Game he greatly delighted in, when the Letter was brought, he defer'd opening it 'till it was too late. *Zimisces* had been confin'd to his own House in the Country, by express Order from the Emperor, yet the Empress procur'd his Enlargement, and not only got him to be convey'd secretly to *Constantinople*, tho' *Nicephorus* had positively forbidden it, but had him and his Accomplices drawn up by Night in a Basket into the Palace, where they found the unhappy Emperor asleep in a Bear-skin upon the Ground, as his Custom was, and in no manner prepar'd for such an Encounter. *Zimisces* first kick'd him with his Foot to awaken him, and as he was endeavouring to rise, *Leo Abalantius* gave him a Mortal Wound on his Head, whilst he said no more than *Lord have Mercy upon me, the Mother of God help me!* The Guards by this time had receiv'd the Alarm, and were preparing with all Diligence to relieve him, which, when the Conspirators observ'd, they cut off his Head, and show'd it the Soldiers out at the Window; who observing the Business was already over, and therefore not to be prevented, retir'd something appeas'd, expecting what farther Designs the Conspirators had in view.

Nicephorus *slain.*

This was the unhappy End of *Nicephorus* the Emperor, who being from his Youth inur'd to the Wars, examin'd the Measure of Good and Evil by that Standard. In the beginning of his Reign he was successful in most, or all his Attempts against the Infidels; but *Baronius* observes, that when once he invaded with a Sacrilegious Hand what belong'd to the Church, he not only lost the Esteem and Affection of all good Men, but God himself, from a Protector, became a severe Avenger, and suffer'd him to fall by the Hands of Traitors. Undoubtedly he knew better how to Command in War than Rule in Peace, for he recover'd *Antioch*, *Cilicia*, and the greatest part

His Character.

of

of *Asia* Minor from the Dominion of the *Saracens*; but his Ignorance in Affairs of State, and abominable Covetousness, defac'd the Honour he had acquir'd in Arms, and procur'd his Ruin. He was murder'd in the seventh Year of his Reign, the thirty fourth of *Otto* the Great, and the fifth of *John* the Thirteenth Pope of *Rome*, and the fifty eighth of his Age, *A. D.* 969.

Nicephorus being murder'd, *Johannes Zimisces* seiz'd on the Empire, assuming *Basilius* and *Constantine* for his Colleagues. Before he would permit himself to be Crown'd he remov'd such as he thought had been Favourers to *Nicephorus* from all Employments in the State and the Army; and having confin'd *Leo*, *Nicephorus* his Brother, to the Isle of *Lesbos*, he recall'd all those his Predecessor had banish'd, especially such of the Ecclesiasticks as had been driven away for opposing him in Matters relating to the Church. Having, as he thought, by these means clear'd his Way for his Coronation, he went to receive the Crown from the Hands of the Patriarch in the Great Church, but *Polyeuctus* with an unexpected Severity oppos'd his Entrance into that Place, which was not to be profan'd with the Presence of one who had embru'd his Hands in the Blood of his Soveraign, for which Satisfaction was to be made before he could be admitted. Whether this Matter had been concerted privately before-hand between *Zimisces* and the Patriarch, on purpose to obtain a plausible Pretence for removing the Empress *Theophania*, or that *Zimisces* was unwilling, at that Conjuncture, to contend with the Church, he receiv'd the Reprehension with a great Submissiveness, promising a Performance of any Thing that in Reason might be enjoin'd him, and alledg'd, at the same Time, in his own Defence, that he was not personally guilty of the late Emperor's Death, but that *Thalamitius* murder'd him by Command of the Empress. Hereupon the Patriarch requir'd that the

A. D. 969. ZIMISCES.

and the Murderers might be baniſh'd, and the Edict made by *Nicephorus*, relating to the Church, might be cancell'd, to all which *Zimiſces* readily comply'd. *Theophania* was ſhut up cloſe in a Monaſtery in the Province of *Armenia*, being juſtly excluded from the World, and the ſenſual Enjoyments of it, to which ſhe had been too much addicted. *Zimiſces*, at the ſame Time, promis'd to aſſign all his own private Eſtate to the uſe of the Poor, whereupon *Polyeuctus* admitted him into the Church, where he was Crown'd by him on *Chriſtmas*-Day.

Zimiſces *crown'd Emperor.*

It is often obſervable, that Revolutions at home give Birth to new Commotions abroad, which *Zimiſces* found true at the Beginning of his Reign; for the Cities his Predeceſſor had taken from the *Saracens* in the Eaſt were grown ripe for a Revolt; to favour which, and recover their Reputation, all the Nations of that Religion engag'd themſelves in a ſtrict League and Alliance, and having collected prodigious Forces together, the Command of the whole Army was, by general Conſent, given to the *Carthaginians*, as the moſt capable, and beſt experienc'd in War both by Sea and Land. This Command the *Carthaginians* transferr'd upon *Zochares*, whom they declar'd Generaliſſimo. Having muſter'd their Forces they ſate down before *Antioch*, which they beſieg'd very cloſely, hoping to be Maſters of it before the Beſieg'd could receive any Relief from the Emperor; but the Garriſon, being aſſiſted by the Inhabitants, perform'd their Duty ſo well, that *Nicholas* an Eunuch, who was declar'd General by the Emperor, fell upon 'em with all the Forces he could raiſe in *Meſopotamia* and the neighbouring Provinces, gave 'em Battel, forc'd 'em to raiſe the Siege, and return in a diſorderly manner home, and by that means confirm'd the Capital Cities of thoſe Parts in their Obedience.

The Saracens *defeated before* Antioch.

Whilſt the Emperor's Arms proſper'd with ſo much Succeſs in the Eaſt, the Territories of the Empire were threaten'd by the Incurſions of the *Ruſſi*, who had

had over-run all *Bulgaria*, into which they had formerly been invited by *Nicephorus Phocas*, upon a Quarrel between him and *Peter*, Prince of *Bulgaria*. *Nicephorus* had engag'd 'em to plunder, but not poſſeſs the Country; but they finding it much more pleaſant and fertile than their own, reſolv'd, contrary to their Articles with *Nicephorus*, to ſettle themſelves in it. *Calocyrus*, a *Roman* Fugitive, was then in their Camp, and oblig'd himſelf to reſign *Bulgaria* up to 'em, provided he might be made Emperor by their Aſſiſtance. The *Ruſſi*, who had been inform'd of the late Revolutions at *Conſtantinople*, thought it no very difficult matter to effect what *Calocyrus* had with ſo much Confidence propos'd, ſo that challenging *Bulgaria* for their own, as having acquir'd it by Virtue of their Swords, and being in Poſſeſſion of it, they inſolently rejected the Ambaſſadors *Zimiſces* had ſent with Offers to confirm whatever had been concluded betwixt them and *Nicephorus*. To make good their Pretenſions they united to 'em as many of the conquer'd *Bulgarians* as they thought they might ſafely truſt, and being join'd by a Body of the *Hungarians*, they muſter'd an Army of three hundred and eight thouſand Men, with which having paſs'd the *Hæmus*, they waſted all *Thrace*, and ſat down before *Adrianople*.

Zimiſces, provok'd at their Inſolence to his Ambaſſadors, had order'd all the Forces could be drawn together to march Weſtward under the Conduct of *Bardas Sclerus*, or the *Hardy*, his Wife's Brother, reſolving, when the Spring came on, to be in Perſon at the Head of his Army. *Bardas* perceiving he ſhould have to do with Numbers ſo far ſuperior to his, for he was not able to Muſter above twelve or thirteen thouſand Men, thought it beſt to contend with 'em by Stratagems, and therefore ſuffer'd 'em to ravage *Thrace*, whilſt he ſhut himſelf up in *Adrianople* before they could approach it. The *Barbarians* endeavour'd by all Methods imaginable to provoke him to Fight,

and he with equal Care, and much ſeeming Diffidence, declin'd it. This Behaviour in the *Roman* General created a Contempt and Negligence in the Enemy, who, being ſecure of their Prey, obſerv'd no Diſcipline, but grew negligent in their Watches, and regardleſs of Orders.

The Event anſwer'd *Bardas Sclerus* his Expectations; for *John*, a Patrician, having by the General's Order drawn a great Body of the preſumptuous Enemy into an Ambuſcade, they purſu'd him with an undiſciplin'd Fury as he fled deſignedly from 'em, till they fell unadviſedly upon a ſtronger Party planted there for that purpoſe, and commanded by *Bardas* himſelf, who cut every Man of the *Babarians* in pieces. After this he fell with a Courage quicken'd with his late Succeſs upon the reſt, who fought for ſome time like Men animated with Deſpair, but in the End receiv'd an abſolute Defeat, which was chiefly to be aſcrib'd to the Valour of *Bardas* the General, and his Brother *Conſtantine*. Had not Night befriended 'em, none of the Enemy had eſcap'd; great Multitudes were taken Priſoners, and few among 'em were obſerv'd to be unwounded, tho' ſome Writers affirm the *Romans* loſt not above five and twenty Men in both Engagements.

A great Victory obtain'd by the Romans.

The Emperor was ſo far from being puff'd up with this extraordinary Succeſs againſt the Enemies of the Empire, that it rather made him more humble and merciful, as he made it appear ſhortly after this Victory. For *Bardas Phocas*, the late Emperor's Nephew, who had been baniſh'd into *Amaſia*, having receiv'd ſome Encouragement from his Friends and Acquaintance at *Conſtantinople*, withdrew on a ſudden out of *Amaſia*, and ſeiz'd on *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; where being join'd by ſeveral conſiderable Men in the Empire, who had not concurr'd in the late Revolution, and who had brought a ſtrong Body of Forces along with them, he aſſum'd the Imperial Ornaments, and declar'd himſelf Emperor. At the

Bar las Phocas *Uſurps.*

same Time *Leo*, the Father of *Phocas*, who had been confin'd to the Isle of *Lesbos*, having seduc'd several by large Gifts, and larger Promises, in which the Bishop of *Abydos* did him signal Service, prepar'd to steal from thence with his Son *Nicephorus*, and appear at the Head of his Party in *Thrace*. But some of the Emperor's Officers having apprehended the Bishop, he was examin'd, and discover'd the whole Design, whereupon *Leo* and *Nicephorus* were condemn'd to Death, which Sentence the merciful Emperor mitigated to the losing of their Eyes; and, as if that Punishment was too severe and cruel for his Capital Enemies, some add further, that the Executioners, by his Order, made show only of blinding 'em, and gave out that they spar'd their Sight not in Obedience to any Commands they had received from the Emperor, but out of meer Pity to those unfortunate Princes. And yet those very Men shortly after rais'd another Rebellion, whilst the Emperor was buried in his Wars with the *Russians*, for which that very Punishment was deservedly inflicted upon 'em. In the mean Time *Bardas* the General was, by an Order from the Emperor, who had charg'd him to shed no more Blood than was necessary, marching against *Phocas*, and was got as far as *Dorylaus*, the Capital of *Phrygia*, where he endeavour'd first by fair Offers, and an Assurance of Mercy from *Zimisces*, to reduce *Phocas* and his Accomplices; but when he found they persisted obstinately in their Rebellion, he left *Dorylaus*, and proceeded on to *Cæsarea*. Here those who had chiefly promoted *Phocas* in his Usurpation, and had appear'd the most forward to support him, considering what fair Promises they had receiv'd from *Bardas*, and how desperate their Condition would be should they miscarry, privately agreed among themselves, and withdrew with all their Forces from *Phocas*, who by that means had no other Attendance left him than of his own Servants, so that he was forc'd to fly, and shut himself up in a strong Castle call'd *Cyro-*

pæum, which at first he resolv'd to defend to the last Extremity; but when *Bardas* came up, and by repeated Messages urg'd him to a Surrender, promising him all imaginable Kindness on his part, and undertaking to obtain his Pardon from the Emperor, he generously threw himself into his Protection, and was confin'd to the Island *Chios*, where he enter'd into Orders; for the Emperor being willing to make good what *Bardas* had promis'd, thought fit to proceed no farther against him, tho' we shall find him recall'd in the following Reign to command an Army against this *Bardas*, who had now suppress'd him.

and is supprest.

These eminent Services to the Empire contributed much to the Reputation of *Sclerus*, who was sent for to *Constantinople*, where *Zimisces* was marry'd shortly after in great Solemnity to *Theodora*, the Sister of the late Emperor *Romanus*, according to some, tho' others affirm she was his Daughter by *Theophania* the Empress, and consequently the Sister of *Basilius* and *Constantine*, the Collegues of this present Emperor.

A. D. 971. *The Russian War breaks out again.*

The late Defeat of the *Russians* had not so much weaken'd and discourag'd 'em, but they prepar'd to give the Emperor new Troubles; whereupon *Zimisces* resolv'd to march in Person against 'em, and, if possible, totally to subdue 'em. Accordingly he endeavour'd by his obliging Carriage, and generous Presents, to win the Hearts of his Army, which he supply'd with the most prudent and valiant Officers, who had Orders to Exercise their Soldiers every Day, and establish a good Discipline among them. At the same Time he took Care to lay in great Stores of Ammunition and Provision; and when he had, with great Application, sufficiently provided for his Land-Forces, he rigg'd out a strong Fleet, which prov'd very serviceable to him in the Course of his Expedition. Before he set forward he committed the Administration of Affairs at home to the Hands of those in whom he thought he had the greatest reason to confide; and having finish'd his Devoti-

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ons, in which he appear'd moſt exemplary, he began his March in the beginning of the Spring at the Head of an Army, remarkable as well for the Courage and Chearfulneſs of the Soldiers, as the Care and Experience of their Commanders. At a Place call'd *Rædeſtus* he was met by two Perſons, who pretending themſelves to be Ambaſſadors, made loud Complaints of the great Injuries offer'd the Nation of the *Scythians*. *Zimiſces*, who knew they were ſent as Spies from the Enemy, made 'em take a view of all his Forces, and then order'd 'em to return with a Report of what they had obſerv'd to their Maſters, after which, without any other Anſwer, he diſmiſs'd 'em. When this was done he drew out five thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, with which he himſelf march'd with great Expedition over the Mountain *Hæmus*, and laid Siege to *Preſthlaba*, the Principal City of *Bulgaria*, ordering the reſt of his Forces to follow after, under the Conduct of *Baſilius* the Preſident. *Calocyrus*, of whom mention has already been made, was then in the City, where the Inhabitants were ſeiz'd with the greateſt Conſternation, ſo that the Fugitive ſecretly withdrew into the *Ruſſian* Camp, which he fill'd with almoſt an equal Aſtoniſhment. Hereupon the General of the *Ruſſians* having, in the beſt manner he could, encourag'd his deſponding Soldiers, encamp'd nearer the City, hoping by his Preſence to animate the Defendants. But as a Party of his Troops, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men, were detach'd from the reſt of the Army, either to be exercis'd near the City Walls, or ſhow themſelves to their Friends within, who were prepar'd to receive them; *Zimiſces* fell with great Reſolution upon 'em, and having intercepted their Retreat to their Camp, he either kill'd or took moſt of 'em; among the latter was *Sphagellus*, a Man in Authority next to their General.

Zimiſces his Soldiers were extreamly animated by this Action, which ſeem'd to give 'em an Earneſt of their

Zimiſces his Expedition.

His Succeſs.

their future Success, so that they fell immediately with great Bravery upon the City, and were rather drawn off by the Approach of the Night, than repuls'd by the Courage of the Besieg'd. The next Morning *Basilius* appear'd with the rest of the Army upon the Top of an Hill, no less to the Joy of the Emperor than the Terror of the Inhabitants, who notwithstanding refus'd to surrender, tho', the better to induce 'em to it, they had receiv'd very advantageous Conditions from the Emperor; and he, being provok'd at their Obstinacy, gave Orders for a general Attack. Tho' the Enemy's Resolution appear'd as great as their Obstinacy had done before, yet the Valour of the *Romans* at length prevail'd, and all Parts of the City, which was taken by Storm, were fill'd with Slaughter. Whilst some of the *Romans* were busied in Scaling the Walls, and open'd the Gates to their Fellows, eight thousand *Scythians*, part of the Garrison that had been left for the Defence of the Place, seiz'd on the Castle, from whence they did great Mischief upon the Imperialists, before they were well sensible by whom, or from what Part they were assaulted. *Zimisces*, who thought the Business had been over, when once he got in Possession of the City, found the greatest Danger remain'd still behind; and observing his Men declin'd the Assault, not so much from an Apprehension of their Enemy's Courage, as the Situation of the Place, which they judg'd impregnable, advanc'd in Person at the Head of 'em with Sword in Hand, and seem'd, by his own Courage, to upbraid 'em of Cowardice; the Sense of which wrought so effectually upon 'em, that they all strove who should first thrust himself betwixt their Prince and the Danger that threaten'd him, and so, after a terrible Slaughter on both Sides, they became Masters of the Castle. Those of the *Scythians* that were not kill'd in the Assault, were either driven down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire, which prevail'd on every side, so that very few or none of 'em escap'd.

Thus

Thus was *Zimisces* become Master of the City and Castle in the Space of two Days; all those that were found upon their Arms were kill'd, and the Women and Children, together with such as yielded themselves after the first Fury was over, were made Prisoners; among whom was *Borises*, King of the *Bulgarians*, who being conducted to the Emperor in his Royal Robes, was receiv'd by him as a King, and after a magnificent Entertainment releas'd with his Wife and Children, and all the *Bulgarians*, *Zimisces* declaring he had an Enmity to none but the *Russi*. The City, which the Heat of the Soldiers had almost destroy'd, was repair'd at the Emperor's Charge, and call'd after his own Name, *Joannopolis*. Here he kept his *Easter*, and having left a sufficient Garrison in it, and furnish'd it with all manner of Provisions, he march'd from thence towards *Dorostorum*, or *Distra*, seated on the *Ister*, and one of the chief Towns the *Russians* had in this Country, which their General was very solicitous to preserve. He encamp'd with his numerous Army, consisting in all of 330000 Men, within twelve Miles of that City, where it was unanimously resolv'd to wait the Emperor's coming, and give him Battel; having first put three hundred *Bulgarians* to Death, of whom they had entertain'd some Suspicion. The *Russians* did not so much exceed the *Romans* in Numbers, as the *Romans*, encourag'd by their late Victories, surpass'd them in Courage, upon which Account the Success continu'd doubtful for a long time on both sides. Fortune seem'd no less than twelve times to shift Parties; but, as Night approach'd, the Left Wing of the *Russians* began to give Ground; and before the Enemy had leisure to recruit it the Emperor led on a reserv'd Party with so much Resolution, that his Soldiers, receiving new Life from his Example, bore on with an invincible Courage upon the Barbarians, and carry'd the Day. The *Russians* fled with their broken Troops to *Distra*, not so much for the Defence of the City, as their own Security;

and

and thither the Emperor, after he had return'd Publick Thanks for the Victory, follow'd 'em, and laid close Siege to the Place, but made no Attempt upon it 'till the Arrival of his Fleet, which prevented the Defendants escaping by the River.

The Siege of Distra. This Siege prov'd as remarkable as any that Age produc'd, not so much for the Length of it, as the Resolutenes of the Besieg'd, the Valour of the Assailants, and the Consequences of it; for it brought both Armies to a general Battel, and that introduc'd a Treaty, which ended in a Truce or Peace between both Nations. The *Russians* had hitherto forborn the use of Horses, but now, contrary to their former Custom, they mounted several Companies, and sally'd out briskly at two several Gates towards the Evening, when the *Romans* were dispers'd at Supper, little prepar'd for the Company of such Guests, so that the two Quarters, where the Onset was made, were at first seiz'd with a general Consternation; but having, by degrees, taken to their Arms, a sharp Engagement happen'd, in which at length the *Romans* had the Advantage, and forc'd the Enemy back with a great Slaughter into the City, which was fill'd with hideous Cries and Howlings for the Loss they had sustain'd, by which the Garrison was extreamly weaken'd, so that the General was forc'd to send for all his Countrymen which were posted in the adjacent Towns and Forts, having some time before committed to Custody twenty thousand *Bulgarians* for fear they should revolt, or raise a Mutiny in the Garrison. *Zimisces*, observing the Resolution with which the General behav'd himself, and dreading the Fatigues of a long Siege, drew his Army out into the adjoining Plain, and offer'd him Battel, which he refus'd, resolving to maintain himself to the last Extremity within the Walls. Notwithstanding which, being strengthen'd with fresh Supplies, they issu'd out one Night at all their Gates at once, and made a great Sally upon the Besiegers at a time when they little expected

pected 'em. At firſt, the *Romans* being unprepar'd to receive 'em, they had the Advantage; but *Phagellas*, who had been exchang'd, and now commanded 'em, being Slain, they grew diſhearten'd, and fought with leſs Alacrity; however they kept the Field all that Night, and 'till Noon the Day following, when perceiving a Party was got between them and the Town, they began to ſhift every one for himſelf, and being intercepted by the *Romans* in their Way back, they ſtragled in ſmall Parties through the Country, where moſt of them were ſlain. This Loſs oblig'd *Sphendoſtiblabus* their General more ſtrongly to fortifie the Place, ſo that he drew a Trench about the Walls, and with ſeveral Works ſecur'd it. Finding his Proviſions began to fall ſhort, and that all Parts towards the Land were block'd up, he took the Advantage of a dark rainy Night, and paſs'd with two thouſand Men in Boats down the River, and got Corn and other Neceſſaries for the Garriſon without being obſerv'd or diſtruſted by the Beſiegers, 'till at his Return he kill'd many of thoſe that had been ſent out to Forage, and got out of Danger before the reſt could eſcape with the News of their Defeat to the Emperor; who, being highly incens'd at it, threaten'd the Commanders of his Fleet with Death, if they ſuffer'd the like for the future; and being unwilling to ſpend any more time in fruitleſs Hoſtilities, he ſecur'd all the Avenues leading to the Town, and reſolv'd to ſtarve 'em out of it. The Beſieg'd, beginning once more to be ſtraighten'd in their Proviſions, reſolv'd to make a general Sally upon the Enemy, under the Conduct of *Jernor*, who was the ſecond in Reputation among 'em. The Diſpute for ſome time was very obſtinate on both ſides, 'till *Anemas*, the Son of the *Ameras*, or Caliph of *Crete*, who had been entertain'd in the Emperor's Guards, ſingled out *Jernor*, and after a ſhort Combat ſlew him, at which the Beſieg'd retir'd back in great Confuſion, and ſuffer'd more from the ſtraitneſs of the Ways, whereby they trampled one upon

Another Sally.

upon another, than the Swords of the Purſuers. *Sphendoſthlabus* himſelf got with much difficulty into the Town, where he at laſt began to conſider in what a melancholy Condition his Affairs ſtood. His Countrymen, that were either able or willing to relieve him, were at too great diſtance, and the neighbouring Nations were aw'd by the Emperor, who was too powerful for 'em both by Sea and Land. The Beſieg'd labour'd under the greateſt Difficulties, their Numbers were conſiderably diminiſh'd, and the want of all things neceſſary for their Subſiſtance grew every Day more and more upon 'em, whilſt the Emperor, on the other ſide, receiv'd continual Supplies of Men and Proviſions. Hereupon a Council of War was ſummon'd, wherein, tho' they ſeverally differ'd in the Method, yet they generally agreed in this, that the War muſt be brought to a Concluſion. Some were for flying away by Night, others for Capitulating, and a few mov'd for a pitch'd Battel, affirming any other Methods would expoſe 'em to the Deriſion of their Neighbours, and concluded that a glorious Death was preferable to an ignominious Life. To this Opinion the General himſelf adher'd, ſo that they all agreed unanimouſly to quit the City the next Day, and, that their Men might fight with a more deſperate Courage, they reſolv'd to make faſt the Gates of the City, and cut off all hopes of a Retreat.

As this Battel concluded the War, ſo was it the moſt remarkable of any that happen'd in it. The Seaſon of the Year was very hot, which exceedingly diſtreſs'd the *Romans*, who were not ſo much accuſtom'd to the Inconveniences of the Weather, ſo that the indolgent Emperor carefully reliev'd 'em with Bottles of Wine and Water mix'd together; beſides, the Ways where the Fight began were too narrow for 'em to draw up in a regular Body, of which he being ſenſible, commanded his Officers to retire by degrees 'till they came into the open Plain, and then

to fall on again with their usual Alacrity. The Enemy, thinking they fled, with an indiscreet Courage pursu'd 'em, 'till the *Romans* having attain'd the Place appointed, charg'd 'em afresh and renew'd the Fight. *Zimisces*, observing that the *Russians*, notwithstanding this Advantage, fought with more Courage than ever, commiserated the Condition of his Men; and, to prevent the Effusion of more Blood, sent and challeng'd their General to decide the Quarrel by a single Combat between 'em. *Sphendosthlabus* as arrogantly rejected the Offer, and return'd Answer, *That he knew how to put a better Value upon his Life, and that if the Emperor was weary of his, there was room enough for him in the Field to dispose of it.* Hereupon *Zimisces* resolv'd, with this one Day's Action, to finish both the War and the Siege; and therefore having sent *Sclerus* with his Troops to cut off their Communication with the Town, he commanded *Romanus*, the Son of *Constantine Cæsar*, and Grandson of *Romanus* the elder, together with *Peter*, another great Commander in the Army, to give a fresh Charge with their reserv'd Forces; notwithstanding which the Success continu'd still uncertain, 'till *Sphendosthlabus* was in the end beat off his Horse by *Anemas*, who, whilst he was endeavouring to kill him, was himself cut to pieces. The *Russians*, who before the Fight were half starv'd, began now to grow weary and dishearten'd: On the other side, the *Romans*, observing the Confusion and Disorder they were in, continu'd the Fight with great Alacrity, 'till the *Russians* gave way, and fled with great Precipitation over the Plain, where the Slaughter was continu'd by the victorious Pursuers; an innumerable Multitude of 'em fell in the Fight, and hardly any escap'd without being wounded. When the *Romans* came to strip the Slain, they found great Numbers of Women among 'em, who had accompany'd their Husbands in Mens Cloaths, and fought with a Masculine Courage. And 'twas observable, that during this whole War, the Women,

A. D. 971.

The Russians entirely defeated.

Women, for their Numbers, had been as ſerviceable as the Men; ſo reſolute were theſe People, to maintain and defend, to the laſt Extremity, what they thought their own by Right of Conqueſt.

A.D. 971.

Sphendoſthlabus, having ſecur'd himſelf with the reſt by Flight for the preſent, conſulted what farther was to be done. He conſider'd he had acted hitherto in every thing as became a prudent Man, and a Lover of his Country, and that Fortune had ſtill oppos'd him in all his Deſigns, ſo that there was nothing more left him to do, but to obtain the beſt Terms he could from the Emperor, of whom he requir'd more than he thought *Zimiſces* would grant, or than he himſelf could expect, propoſing to abate and govern himſelf according to the Anſwer he ſhould receive from the Emperor; for he demanded no leſs than "To be receiv'd on the publick Faith as a Friend "and Allie of the Empire; that he and his Country-"men ſhould be conducted in Safety home, and that "a free Commerce ſhould be ſettled betwixt both "Nations. Tho' *Sphendoſthlabus* would willingly have relinquiſh'd part of theſe Demands, yet the Emperor, who was either grown weary of the War, or thought it imprudent or dangerous to provoke a deſperate Enemy, who had given him ſuch undeniable Inſtances of his Courage and Reſolution, generouſly granted all he ask'd, alledging, in his Defence, the Cuſtom of the Ancient *Romans*, who choſe rather to overcome their Enemies by their Kindneſs and Generoſity, than by the Force of their Arms. The Articles of the Treaty being ſettled, *Sphendoſthlabus* deſir'd he might have an Interview with the Emperor, which being readily granted, he was receiv'd and entertain'd with great Magnificence. At this Interview it was agreed between 'em, that the *Patzinacæ* ſhould be compriz'd in the League, which was thought would induce 'em to grant the *Ruſſians* liberty to return through their Territories into their own Country. The *Patzinacæ* appear'd willing to be com-

comprehended in the Treaty, but refus'd a free Paſſage to the *Ruſſians*, who, if they found them obſtinate, were oblig'd, in the Condition they were in, to force their Way through; of which the *Patzinacæ* being inform'd, they thought it not Prudence openly to oppoſe 'em, but, laying Ambuſhes for 'em, they cut off the General and all his Men; that fierce People thinking it a Crime ſufficient that he had enter'd into a League with the *Romans*.

Thus ended the *Ruſſian* War, not more to the Honour and Safety of the Empire, than the Reputation of *Zimiſces*, who aſcrib'd his Succeſs rather to the Divine Protection than the Force of his Arms: For beſides that, during the late Battel, the Wind blew the Rain with great Violence full againſt the Barbarians, which extreamly diſorder'd 'em, and made 'em unable to manage the Fight as they firſt intended: Some related, that a Man on a White Horſe was obſerv'd by the whole Army at the beginning of the Fight, who fought at the Head of the Battel, and with his ſingle Valour repuls'd and broke the Enemy's Ranks; and foraſmuch as none had ſeen him either before or afterwards, they believ'd him to be St. *Theodore* the Martyr, on whoſe Anniverſary the Victory was obtain'd; and the Emperor himſelf (who, ſaith my Author, never fought without the immediate Protection and Aſſiſtance of thoſe Heavenly Auxiliaries) according to the Superſtitions of thoſe Times, either really did, or at leaſt pretended, ſo far to believe it, that he repair'd a Church dedicated to him, and chang'd the Name of the Town, wherein it ſtood, from *Euchaneia* to *Theodoropolis*. Baron. Ann. 911.

The Treaty being ſign'd, the Emperor fortify'd all the Towns and Forts that ſtood upon the River, and then return'd to *Conſtantinople*, where he was receiv'd with all Expreſſions of Joy imaginable. The Patriarch, the Clergy, the Senate, and the People met him with Crowns and a triumphant Chariot drawn by four Horſes moſt ſplendidly capariſon'd; he refuſing to enter

Zimiſces his Triumph at Conſtantinople.

ter the City in the Chariot, mounted a white Horſe, and having put the Royal Veſtments of the *Bulgarian* Princes into the Chariot, and over them the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, as Protectreſs of the City, he follow'd it in a ſolemn Proceſſion, and in the *Forum* receiv'd the Acclamations of the People.

The Solemnity being over, and he in a manner releas'd from the Toils of War, he apply'd himſelf, with great Diligence, to the Affairs of State. He eas'd his Subjects of ſome Taxes, and was the firſt that commanded the Image of our Saviour to be impreſs'd upon the Coins with this Impreſſion, *Jeſus Chriſt, the King of Kings*, which Cuſtom was ever after obſerv'd by his Succeſſors. But whilſt he was thus employ'd in his Management at home, ſeveral of thoſe Cities in the Eaſt, that had been reduc'd by his Predeceſſor *Nicephorus*, revolted from the Empire, and took up Arms againſt it, ſo that *Zimiſces* ſaw himſelf oblig'd to undertake another Expedition to recover 'em to their Obedience. And having proceeded as far as *Damaſcus*, he reduc'd ſome by fair Words, and others by force of Arms. Here he reſided for ſome time to ſettle the Affairs of the Province in thoſe Parts. In this Expedition having obſerv'd ſeveral pleaſant Towns and Palaces, with large and fruitful Territories adjoyning to 'em, and being delighted with it, he ask'd to whom they belong'd; and when he was anſwer'd that *Baſilius*, the Preſident, was in Poſſeſſion of 'em all, tho' ſome of 'em had been acquir'd by the Arms of *Nicephorus*, others by other Generals, and not a few by himſelf, he broke out with a Sigh into this Expreſſion, *How miſerable, my Companions, is the preſent Condition of the* Roman *Empire, whoſe beſt Blood and Treaſure is ſacrific'd to the Pride and Ambition of an aſpiring Eunuch?* *Baſilius* had ſerv'd ſeveral of the former Emperors in their Wars againſt the *Saracens*, and in Negotiations of the greateſt Importance. Being a Man of great Authority in the Empire he appear'd very inſtrumental in the Promotion of *Nicephorus*,

cophoras, who, upon that Consideration, made him his prime Minister, in which Post he was continu'd by *Zimisces*, out of Respect to his reputed Integrity, and great Knowledge, and Experience in the Affairs of State, which he knew how to manage with the greatest dexterity, tho', like most other Statesmen, he took care to enrich himself; and indeed they who watch with an uncorrupted Eye for the Safety of the State, are in some measure worthy of their Hire. *Basilius* was quickly inform'd of the Emperor's Reflection, and, apprehending the Consequences of it, if not prevented in Time, he resolv'd to build his own Security upon the Destruction of the Emperor. Accordingly he prevail'd with his Cupbearer to give him a Poison, and such a one as should work by degrees, and in a languishing Manner dispatch him. The Cup-bearer being encourag'd by large Presents in Hand, and larger Promises, readily undertook it. The Poison work'd so effectually upon the Emperor, that he dy'd before he could reach *Constantinople*. It broke out in large Carbuncles upon his Shoulders, and made him void great quantities of Blood at his Eyes. Whether he mistrusted the Treason had been acted against him, or judg'd it a natural Distemper, he forbore any Inquisition about it, and spent the Time he had to live in his Devotions. *Zimisces poison'd.*

This was the End of an Emperor, whose Virtues and fortunate Reign deserv'd a better Conclusion. For he must, on all Hands, be allow'd to have been an excellent Prince, tho' they, who raise themselves up to the Government by violent Means, as he did, are not always known to execute it with Justice and Moderation. The ambitious Thirst after Sovereignty was not reputed so great a Crime in those Days, as it is deservedly esteem'd now; and that Consideration may, in a great Measure, plead in his Behalf. He was as renown'd for his Devotion as his Courage, and was a visible Example of both to all his Subjects, tho' A. D. 976.

he excell'd in no Christian Virtue so much as in that of Mercy and Forgiveness. As he was vigorous and active in enlarging the Territories of the Empire, so was he equally vigilant in protecting and securing them. A Comet was seen some time before his Death, and continu'd to appear for several Months after it, foreshewing, as it was afterwards thought, not only the Fall of this Emperor, but those fatal Distempers in which the State, by reason of the Civil Wars that rag'd within its Bowels, was afterwards involv'd. The Years of *Zimisces* his Reign, and that wherein he dy'd, are differently computed by different Authors; the most probable Account is, that he reign'd six Years and as many Months, and that he dy'd in the fourth Year of *Otto*, Emperor of *Germany*; the second of *Benedict* the seventh Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 976.

BASILIUS II. CONSTANTINE VII.

Zimisces, before his Death, design'd *Basilius* and *Constantine*, the Sons of *Romanus*, his Successors, who in his Life-time had been his Collegues in the Empire. These two Princes, the Eldest of which was about twenty, and the other seventeen Years of Age, bore the Name of Emperors, but the Imperial Power lodg'd solely in *Basilius* the President, who, the better to preserve himself in the Authority he had so long enjoy'd, recall'd *Theophania*, the young Princes Mother, who had been banish'd by *Zimisces*; by which Act he confirm'd himself in the good Opinion of the Sons, and reconcil'd himself to the Mother, who had before been highly offended at him.

A. D. 976.

The beginning of this Reign was attended with extraordinary Commotions in the State, occasion'd chiefly by the Minority of the two Princes, and the over great Jealousie of the Prime Minister, who, to prevent any Usurpations that might arise, took care first to restrain the almost unlimitted Power of *Bardas Sclerus*. *Solerus* his great Command in the Army, and his Interest in the Soldiers, among whom he had been bred up from his Youth, had encourag'd him to some ambitious Attempts in the late Reign, for which he nar-

narrowly escap'd the Loss of his Eyes. *Zimisces*, being a Prince of a forgiving Temper, restor'd him in a short Time to his Favour, and left him at his Death Commander in Chief of all the Forces in the East, which gave him an Opportunity of inclining the Soldiers to whatever Designs it was his Interest to promote. Upon these Considerations *Basilius* took from him his Command in the East, and sent him Governor into *Mesopotamia*, with Orders to restrain the Incursions of the *Saracens*. *Sclerus* at first disputed these Orders, and broke out into bitter Invectives against *Basilius*, who, unmov'd at his Reproaches, threaten'd to strip him of all his Employments, and confine him to his own House, unless he instantly obey'd. Hereupon he thought it prudent to depart into the Province that had been assign'd him, carrying with him a fix'd Resolution of revenging himself upon the Prime Minister with the first Opportunity, and asserting his own Right. Accordingly he acquainted the Chief Officers of the Army with his Design, who either out of Hatred to *Basilius*, or knowing that all the Soldiers were at *Sclerus* his Devotion, promis'd faithfully to adhere to him, and advis'd him openly to declare against the Government, and set up for himself. *Romanus*, the Son of *Sclerus*, was at that Time in *Constantinople*, so that he dar'd attempt nothing 'till he had recover'd him from thence; which being done in a short Time after, he then openly assum'd the Habit, and was saluted Emperor by the whole Army. *Sclerus Usurps.*

The better to maintain himself in his usurp'd Authority he seiz'd on the publick Revenues, and rais'd large Contributions from such as were rich and able to pay him. By this means he collected immense Sums of Money, which enabled him to support the Charge of the War, and secur'd the Friendship of the *Saracens* his Neighbours, who, observing the promising Face of his Affairs, enter'd into a Treaty with him, which was strengthen'd by closer Alliances of

Marriage, by Virtue of which he receiv'd from 'em great Supplies of Money and Horſe. With theſe Preparations he ſet forward, in the beginning of Spring, towards *Conſtantinople*, to the great Terror and Conſternation of thoſe who were well-affected to the preſent Government, and dreaded the Conſequences of an Innovation. All Means were try'd to divert the impending Storm: *Baſilius* ſent Orders to *Peter*, who had ſucceeded *Sclerus* in the Command of the Eaſt, to raiſe all the Forces he could, and muſter the whole Army at *Cæſarea*. At the ſame Time *Syncellus*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, was ſent to try if by his prevailing Eloquence, for which he was highly eſteem'd, he could perſuade *Bardas* to quit his unjuſt Pretenſions, and ſubmit to the Government. The Uſurper, adorn'd with the Imperial Ornaments, heard him with Patience, but anſwer'd him in ſhort, That *having once worn the Purple he would never quit it, but with his Life*; That *he was the lawful* Roman *Emperor, and would oblige thoſe by Force to ſubmit to his Authority, who now unadviſedly preſum'd to oppoſe it.* As ſoon as the Court had receiv'd this Anſwer, *Peter* was order'd to ſecure all the Paſſages, and make the beſt Defence he could if he ſhould be attack'd, but by no means to begin the War himſelf. Hereupon he poſted Parties in all the Paſſes, which *Sclerus* endeavour'd by ſlight Skirmiſhes to gain, but to no purpoſe, 'till at length, after ſeveral Marches and Countermarches, they came to encamp one againſt the other: *Sclerus* ſate ſtill for ſome Time, and ſeem'd deſirous to decline fighting, 'till ſome of his Friends repreſented to him how dangerous Delays would prove to him, and how much he would ſuffer in his Reputation, unleſs he enter'd immediately upon Action. Awaken'd by theſe Remonſtrances he immediately diſlodg'd, and march'd into *Cappadocia*, whither *Peter* follow'd him Night and Day, and at laſt came cloſe up to him. Here both the Generals diſcover'd the ſame Averſeneſs to fighting as they had

done

done before, endeavouring to circumvent each other by Stratagems, in which *Sclerus* prov'd the better Master. One Day he order'd Provisions to be prepar'd with a more superficial Care than usual, as if the whole Army was going to take a Refreshment, tho' at the same Time he order'd all his Men to stand to their Arms, and be ready for the Word. This being observ'd by *Peter*, who, for the most part, had been upon the Defensive, he concluded there would be no Engagement that Day, and therefore order'd his Soldiers to fill their Bellies, and take their Ease. Whilst they were thus employ'd *Sclerus* fell upon 'em in a regular Order, and tho' such of 'em as could take to their Arms made a resolute Resistance, yet in the end they were overpower'd and put to Flight. *Sclerus* took their Camp, and all their Baggage, in which he found much Treasure. This Success seem'd, in a great measure, to confirm *Sclerus* in his usurp'd Authority; for many Persons of great Reputation in the Army, and Interest in the Provinces, renounc'd their Allegiance, and declar'd for him: The Inhabitants of *Attalia* laid hold of *Michael Curticas*, the Emperor's Admiral, and carry'd the Fleet over to *Sclerus*, who order'd 'em to make War with it against the *Gibyrtæotæ*.

Sclerus beats the Emperor's Forces.

When the News of this Defeat was brought to *Constantinople*, it was entertain'd there with the greatest Consternation imaginable. *Leo* was chosen to act with an unlimited Authority against *Sclerus*, like the Dictators of old under the Common-wealth; and *John*, a Patrician, a Man of great Eloquence and Experience, was join'd in the Commission with him to counsel and assist him. *Leo*, having join'd *Peter* in *Phrygia*, try'd first, by gentle Means and fair Promises, to draw the Usurper's Adherents off from him; but when he found all his Attempts that way were ineffectual, he broke up suddenly, and march'd with great Expedition towards the East; at which *Sclerus* and his Associates were exceedingly perplex'd, be-

cause all the Treasure, and most of their Relations had been left in those Parts; the Consideration of which wrought so wonderfully upon some of the Principal among 'em, that they left the Usurper, and fled over to *Leo*. *Sclerus* found himself so weaken'd by such an unexpected Defection, that he began to despair of Success, and grew fearful lest all his Forces would, by degrees, draw off and disperse themselves. The only Remedy left in such a Conjuncture, was to send a Body of Men, under the Command of such Officers as he could entirely confide in, who shou'd endeavour to stop *Leo*'s Progress. They were order'd to intercept the Provisions for the Army, and by repeated Alarms, and sudden Onsets, continually incommode him, but by no means suffer it to be brought to a general Engagement. They for some time carefully observ'd their Orders, but were at last forc'd to venture a set Battel. For the Soldiers hearing the *Saracens* of *Berrhæa* were shortly to pass between both Armies, with the annual Tribute, in their way to *Constantinople*, would not be restrain'd; but, knowing they who were strongest in the Field would, in all probability, be Masters of that Treasure, they fell on with an intemperate Heat, whereupon a general Engagement follow'd, in which *Leo* had the Advantage. Many of *Sclerus* his Men were slain, especially of the *Armenians*, to whom no Quarter would be allow'd, because they were the first that had revolted to him. But *Leo* with much Caution and Discretion declin'd fighting; for he knew, and found by Experience, that his Strength encreas'd daily by the Accession of such, who, in that melancholy Condition of his Affairs, deserted the Usurper. Had he persisted in that Resolution, he had, in all probability, put an end to the War at once; but he had some Hot-headed Vain-glorious young Men in his Army, who condemn'd him of too much Diffidence, and never gave over 'till they had persuaded him, contrary to his former Intentions, and much against

Sclerus his Generals defeated.

gainst his Will to engage. *Sclerus* had much the Advantage of *Leo* in his Cavalry, which, being plac'd at each Wing of his Army, made their Enemies give Ground at the first Onset, which occasion'd a total Defeat. The Action was very hot for the time it lasted; on *Leo*'s side, *John* his Coadjutor, and *Peter*, and several other Persons of eminent Quality, were slain: *Leo* himself was taken Prisoner, together with a great many more of distinguish'd Rank in the Army. This remarkable Victory was obtain'd with little or no Loss on the side of *Sclerus*, who digg'd out the Eyes of some of his Prisoners at the Head of his Army, because, in Breach of their Oaths to him, they had fallen off to *Leo*. *Leo* and some others he treated with more Humanity, and only kept 'em in an Honourable Restraint.

but he again routs the Imperialists.

Tho' the Usurper seem'd, by this last Advantage, to have the whole Empire at his Devotion, and thought himself by this Time above all Competition, yet *Basilius* the President omitted nothing of his usual Care for the Safety of the Empire, and Preservation of the Princes. Observing what Mischief *Sclerus* his Ships did at Sea, that having wasted all the Islands in the *Hellespont* they threaten'd *Abydus*, which would bring *Constantinople* it self into manifest Danger, he fitted out a strong Fleet, with which *Theodorus Carentenus*, a Patrician, who commanded it, engag'd the Enemy at *Phocæa*, and destroy'd or took most of their Vessels, by which means the Seas were clear'd, and the Coasts secur'd. At the same Time *Basilius* recruited his Land-Forces, and finding the Usurper had a Design upon *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, he sent away *Manuel Eroticus* with a good Body of Forces to command in it. *Sclerus*, being animated by his late Success, fell with great Violence upon the Place, thinking to carry it with little or no Opposition; but met with so vigorous a Repulse, that he thought in the safest and most effectual way to starve him out. *Manuel*, who was sensible of the great Necessities to

which

which the Inhabitants and Garrison must in time be reduc'd, fill'd the empty Granaries of the City with Sand, over which he strow'd what Corn was left, so thick, that the Sand could not be discover'd by an incurious Eye. Having stor'd the Granaries in this manner, he show'd 'em to some Prisoners he had taken, to whom he represented how difficult a thing it would be for *Sclerus* to force a Place by Famine, that was provided with so much Plenty. He added, that considering the doubtful Events of War, he was willing to surrender the Town upon certain Conditions; some of which were, That the Garrison might have leave to depart with their Arms and Baggage, and pass unmolested to *Constantinople*. *Sclerus* embrac'd the Proposal with a ready Consent, and so became Master of *Nice* by a Compliance, of which he was afterwards asham'd. However, this Progress of his Arms, which began to extend themselves on every side, added much to the Reputation of his Cause, and confirm'd his Party. He now threaten'd to march to *Constantinople* it self, where several that secretly wish'd him well, expected him with great Impatience, and were prepar'd to declare openly for him at his first Appearance. *Basilius*, the President, being sensible of the Danger, and with what an experienc'd, as well as powerful, Enemy he had to contend, recall'd *Bardas Phocas* from Exile, and made him General of the War against *Sclerus*, thinking him the only Man in the Empire able to contend with him. *Phocas* having receiv'd full Instructions, got with great Expedition to *Cæsarea*, where *Eustathius Malenius*, and *Michael Burtzas*, who had hitherto adher'd to *Sclerus*, being inform'd of *Phocas* his Arrival, quitted the Usurper, and came to join with *Phocas*; who, having muster'd all the Forces he could collect at *Cæsarea*, march'd on to *Amorium*, whither he was immediately follow'd by *Sclerus*, who thought it now no time to be idle, having to contend with so celebrated an Enemy. Here it appear'd evident, that neither the

He takes Nice.

Phocas declar'd General against him,

Courage,

Courage, Reputation, or Experience of a General, can infuse a generous Resolution into the Minds of those whom former Defeats have dispirited; for both Armies coming to an Engagement, *Phocas* his Forces were defeated, and driven out of the Field, tho' in this, and another Engagement that follow'd soon after, in which he was again worsted, *Phocas* discharg'd all the Offices of a valiant Soldier, and experienc'd Commander. *and is beaten by Sclerus.*

These two Actions had considerably impair'd *Phocas* his Army, which therefore he took care to recruit, whilst *Sclerus* went to encamp on a large Plain call'd *Pancalea*, lying upon the River *Halys* in *Cappadocia*. *Phocas*, having obtain'd Supplies out of *Iberia* and other Places, march'd in quest of his Enemy, to whom, as soon as he had found him, he offer'd Battel a third Time, which at the beginning inclin'd, as it had done in the former Engagements, and declar'd for *Sclerus*. *Phocas*, asham'd to be thus ignominiously beaten thrice together, having observ'd *Sclerus* at the Head of his Troops, ran with great Fury upon him, and resolv'd to conquer or perish. *Sclerus*, aware of his Design, gave the first stroke directed at his Adversary's Head, which missing, he cut off one of his Horse's Ears, whilst *Phocas* directed his Sword with a more steady Hand, and give him such a Wound that he sunk down upon his Horse's Neck, and *Phocas* rode up to a Hill with a Design to restrain the Flight of his Soldiers, who were by this Time all in Confusion. *Sclerus* his Servants concluding, that notwithstanding this desperate Attempt of *Phocas*, both he and his Cause were absolutely lost, conducted their fainting Master to a Fountain, there to refresh him and wash his Wound; and either forgetting, or having never heard what had formerly happen'd upon the like Occasion, suffer'd his Horse, whose Mane was all bloody, to run in among the Soldiers, who immediately concluding the General was slain, quitted the Pursuit, and fled away themselves with so much haste, that many of them fell down

who is at last overthrown.

down vaſt Precipices, and others took the River, wherein they were drown'd; which fatal Miſtake turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and gave the Victory to *Phocas*. So cautious ought Men to be in all the Circumſtances of Life, more eſpecially in the Field of Battel, where Courage is neceſſary, but Preſumption dangerous.

This unexpected, but deciſive Victory, entirely broke the Party of *Sclerus*, who eſcap'd with a few to *Martyropolis*, and from thence to *Babylon*, where he implor'd the Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance of *Choſroes*, Sultan of the Place. The Emperor *Baſilius*, being inform'd of *Phocas* his Succeſs, and that *Sclerus* was fled to *Babylon*, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Choſroes*, who repreſented to him of what dangerous Conſequence it would be for a Prince to favour and protect thoſe whom Diſloyalty and Rebellion had driven from home. At the ſame time he ſent Letters to *Sclerus*, and thoſe that were with him, in which he offer'd 'em a full Pardon for what was paſs'd, if they would renounce their Pretenſions and return home. Of this *Choſroes* being inform'd, he was enrag'd at the double Errand of the Ambaſſadors, and clapp'd both them and *Sclerus* in Priſon, from whence we ſhall ſee Fortune will, in a ſhort time, releaſe him to create new Diſturbances in the Empire.

Flying to Babylon he is clap'd up in Priſon.

Thus was this firſt Civil War fortunately ſuppreſs'd at the Expence of much Blood and Treaſure; and *Baſilius* the Emperor, who, during *Sclerus* his Rebellion, had receiv'd ſufficient Provocations from the reſtleſs Spirits of the *Bulgarians*, thought himſelf now at leiſure to chaſtiſe 'em. Hitherto hardly any thing, relating either to Peace or War, had been undertaken without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Preſident; but now the Emperor began to reflect upon his own Power, and judg'd himſelf capable to manage this War without his Interpoſition, and ſo reſolv'd to march in Perſon againſt 'em. This was undertaken with the Participation of a very few; neither

neither *Phocas* the General, nor any of the other Captains in the East, being acquainted with it. The Emperor enter'd *Bulgaria* thro' the Country lying near *Rhodoptes*, and the River *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Meliſſenus* to ſecure the *Straits* behind him, whilſt he prepar'd to lay Siege to *Sardica*. This Expedition had in all probability ſucceeded according to his Deſire and Expectation, had not ſome unhappy Diviſions between his chief Officers fruſtrated his Deſigns. As he was vigorouſly preparing for the Siege, *Stephen*, the Commander of the Weſtern Forces, and profeſs'd Enemy to *Leo Meliſſenus*, came to him in the dead of Night, which added to the Horror of what he was to unfold, and earneſtly conjur'd him to lay all other Deſigns whatſoever aſide, and break up immediately for *Conſtantinople*, becauſe *Leo* intended to uſurp the Imperial Authority, and was accordingly marching with all Expedition to the City. This was urg'd by *Stephen* with ſo plauſible an Air, that the young Emperor, who, beſides the Danger he apprehended from a Competitor in the State, was afraid leaſt *Meliſſenus* having deſerted his Poſt, he might be intercepted in his Retreat, in a great Fright gave Orders for the Army to march, which *Samuel*, the Prince of the *Bulgarians*, obſerving, he watch'd his Opportunity, and fell upon 'em as they were making a diſorderly Retreat, and turn'd it into a ſhameful Flight. The Emperor eſcap'd with great Difficulty to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his Duty at the Station had been aſſign'd him, which made him ſenſible how inſolently he had been affronted and abus'd, how infamous and ridiculous this Expedition would appear, and how much *Stephen* had deſerv'd to be puniſh'd by him. *Stephen*'s invincible Hatred to *Leo* made him with great Confidence defend what he had done, which provok'd the Emperor to leap from his Seat, and catching faſt hold of him by his Locks and Beard to drag him down to the Ground. So dangerous is it for Princes to make

Baſilius *the Emperor enters* Bulgaria,

but returns with Diſhonour.

Choice

Choice of such for their Ministers, who being implacable Enemies to each other, are not like to unite in their Councils for the Service of their Master: For few Men are found so good Patriots as to sacrifice their private Interest, Pride, or Revenge, to the good of the Publick.

A. D. 987. This *Bulgarian* Expedition was not more ill concerted in the Beginning, or ignominious in the Conclusion, than it was mischievous in its Consequences. *Phocas* the General was highly affronted, for that the Emperor should dare to undertake a Thing so considerable without his Participation, and judg'd that, being a young and vigorous Prince, he would act for the future without any regard had to his Council or Authority. These Suggestions he endeavour'd to insinuate into the other General Officers of the Army, and they very readily entertain'd 'em: So that meeting at the House of *Eustathius Malenius*, a proud factious Man, they unanimously proclaim'd *Phocas* Emperor, and invested him with the Imperial Ornaments. At the same time that the Court receiv'd News of this Revolt, Advice was brought that *Sclerus*, being deliver'd out of Prison, was returning into the Empire. They who were well affected to the Emperors, *Basilius* and *Constantine*, judg'd this a favourable Conjuncture, since it was easier to suppress two Pretenders than oppose one.

Phocas proclaim'd Emperor by the Malecontents.

Sclerus ow'd his Release to the Dangers which at that Time threaten'd the *Saracen* State. The *Persians*, who had by degrees been subdu'd, and were entirely Slaves to that Nation, observing the Imprudence and Inactivity of *Chosroes* their present Sultan, bore the Yoke with much Reluctancy; watching therefore their Opportunity they arose suddenly, and massacred all the *Saracens* they met. *Chosroes* made the best Defence he was able against so sudden and dangerous an Insurrection, but was so often defeated by 'em, that at length the very Name of a *Persian* sounded terrible to the Ears of a *Saracen*. In this Extremity he

cast

cast his Eyes upon the *Romans* his Prisoners; he consider'd 'em as unfortunate Heroes, who had deserv'd a better Fate than what they endur'd; that if *Sclerus* had not been a Man of Worth, Conduct, and Prudence, he never had been able to raise so considerable a Party in the Empire, and dispute the Imperial Title with the Emperor himself. Upon these Considerations he consented to release him, provided he would undertake the War against the *Persians*. *Sclerus* at first declin'd the Imployment, but being highly encourag'd by *Chosroes*, who promis'd him extraordinary Advantages, he chearfully engag'd himself in it, but refusing to command any of *Chosroes*'s own Subjects in the Service, he perswaded him to open all the Prisons, and arm the Captive *Romans*, who, making a Body of about three thousand Men, fell suddenly on the *Persians*, who being unus'd to their manner of Fighting, and over-power'd with their Courage, receiv'd a total Defeat. *Sclerus*, finding himself at the Head of so gallant a Body of Men, thought himself once more in a Capacity of renewing his former Pretensions, and therefore having put an end to the *Persian* War almost as soon as undertaken, he return'd with his victorious Army into the Territories of the Empire; whether with *Chosroes*'s Consent, or against it, or rather after his Death, as it is very uncertain, so is it not worthy our Consideration. Being enter'd into the Dominions of the Empire, he was inform'd of *Phocas* his Usurpation, which in a great Measure blasted his Hopes, and seem'd very prejudicial to the present Posture of his Affairs; for he found himself unable to oppose both, nor did he judge it safe or honourable for him to join himself with either. At length he resolv'd to carry himself as fair as he could with both, and so ingratiate himself with one, that the other should think he had no Reason to be offended; and therefore the same Time that he sent to *Phocas*, and offer'd to assist him in the Suppression of *Basilius*, and share the Empire with him, his Son *Romanus* left him by his own Consent,

Sclerus returns into the Empire.

Consent, and under the Pretence of a Revolt went to *Basilius* at *Constantinople*. By this means, if *Phocas* prevail'd, the Father thought he should have Interest enough to procure the Son's Peace; and, if *Basilius* had the better, he hop'd his Son would be able to obtain his Pardon from the Emperor. Some Time before *Romanus* his Arrival, *Basilius* the President was fallen into Disgrace, for the Emperor thought himself old enough to govern without a Director, and the President thought he had a just Right to the Management, and made use of all the Artifices an old Courtier is capable of to continue himself in it. But *Basilius* was firmly resolv'd totally to shake him off, and confin'd him first to his own House, where, when he found the restless old Man was forming new Designs, he stripp'd him of all his vast Estate at once, at which he was so sensibly afflicted that he dy'd shortly after. Immediately upon this *Romanus* arriv'd, and the Emperor knowing him to be a prudent Man, and experienc'd Soldier, took him into his Favour, and preferr'd him to Employments of the highest Importance.

Tho' *Basilius* receiv'd *Romanus* with a generous Confidence, and made him his chief Favourite, the crafty *Phocas* behav'd himself with more Circumspection to *Sclerus*. At first he enter'd into a very formal Agreement with him, and pretended the Empire should be divided between 'em; *Sclerus* was to have for his Share *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Coelosyria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Egypt*; and *Constantinople*, with the rest of the Provinces, was allotted to *Phocas*. This Agreement was ratify'd and confirm'd by Oaths on both sides, after which *Sclerus* made no difficulty of joining his Forces with these of *Bardas*; and in *Cappadocia* a Council of War was held how to proceed with the best Advantage. *Phocas*, having by these means drawn the old Man into a senseless Security, watch'd his Opportunity, and then seiz'd upon him, stripp'd him of his Imperial Ornaments, and committed him to Custody; after which he found it no

difficult

difficult Matter to prevail with his Troops to fight under him. By this time he thought he had sufficiently secur'd his own Interest, and therefore sent *Calocyrus Delphinus* with part of his Army to *Chrysopolis*, whilst he remov'd with the rest to *Abydos*, intending to block up *Constantinople*. Upon the first Notice of these Motions, *Basilius* the Emperor sent *Cyriacus* his Admiral for the Defence of *Abydos*, and he himself passing over the *Straits* by Night, fell suddenly upon *Delphinus*, and routed him. *Delphinus* was taken Prisoner, with several others of great Note in the Army, who were all instantly nail'd up to several Posts, as an Example of Terror to the rest. *Phocas* met with a greater Resistance than he expected at *Abydos*, the Inhabitants of which Place were very much strengthen'd and encourag'd by the Arrival of the Imperial Fleet, which in a short time was follow'd by the Emperor *Constantine*, as he was immediately after by his Brother *Basilius*. *Phocas*, either in Contempt of the young Princes, or for that he thought it the safest way to fight before any more Forces could arrive to support 'em, left part of his Army to continue the Siege, and with the residue offer'd Battel to the Emperors. As he observ'd *Basilius* riding up and down to view his Troops, and encourage his Men, he prepar'd to single him out in the beginning of the Battel, and by his Death put an End to the Quarrel at once; for he look'd on *Constantine* as a weak intemperate Prince, who, if his Brother should be remov'd, would never be able to make Head against him. Accordingly he made towards him with all his Force, but Death stopp'd him in the midst of his Career. The manner of it is differently related: Some report his Horse threw him, others that some of the Emperor's Party gave him a Mortal Wound in his Passage; and the Emperor *Constantine* affirm'd, that he slew him with his own Hand; but the most receiv'd Opinion is, that he was poison'd by one *Simeon*, a Servant, in whom he repos'd

A. D. 989. *who dies of Poison.*

an entire Truſt, and that it was done at the Inſtigation of *Baſilius*. However it was, the Death of *Phocas* purchas'd the Emperors an eaſie and compleat Victory; for it was no ſooner ſpread abroad in the Army, but his Men fled in all the Diſorder imaginable. Moſt of the Principal among the Rebels were taken, and puniſh'd according to their Deſerts; ſome ſav'd themſelves by a voluntary Exile, and others, who had been the leaſt active, were pardon'd.

Whereupon Sclerus is once more ſet at Liberty.

However there were ſtill ſome remaining who preſerv'd the Spirit of the Party after the Death of their Leader; theſe Men got *Sclerus* to be ſet at Liberty, and encourag'd him to purſue his Title, and valiantly aſſert his Right. *Baſilius*, who had flatter'd himſelf that the Death of *Phocas* would put an end to the Civil Wars, obſerv'd a new Cloud gathering againſt him, which hung with a direful Aſpect over the State. Before he thought fit to make uſe of violent means, he endeavour'd to reduce him by friendly Expoſtulations, and repreſented to him *how unworthy it was for a Man of his Age and Profeſſion to embroil the Empire with Blood; he promis'd an Indemnity for what was paſt, and his Favour and Protection for the future.* To theſe Remonſtrances *Romanus* added his earneſt Perſuaſions; he repreſented to his Father *how well he had been receiv'd at Court, where he might promiſe himſelf the higheſt Preferments; that he was now old, and had not Forces ſufficient to obtain his Ends; and that it would therefore more become him to enjoy the few Days he had yet in ſtore in Honour, Peace and Tranquility.* By theſe Perſuaſions *Sclerus* was induc'd to lay down his Pretenſions. An Act of Indemnity was paſs'd, and *Sclerus* being declar'd great Steward of the Houſhold, was introduc'd to the Emperor, who could hardly reſtrain himſelf from laughing when he beheld him, of whom he had been for ſo long a time ſo much in fear. He was an exceeding decrepid old Man, ſupported by two of his Domeſticks, who were forc'd to lead him by reaſon of his great Age and Corpulency. The Emperor re-

and is reconcil'd to the Emperor.

ceiv'd

ceiv'd him with great Civility, made him eat with him at his own Table, confirm'd him in his Office of great Steward, and suffer'd such of his Followers as had enjoy'd any Offices of Honour and Profit under him, to be continu'd in 'em, or preferr'd to others of equal Value and Authority.

Basilius having by this Agreement put an end to the Civil Wars, and secur'd himself from any farther Usurpations, consulted how he might best restrain and chastise the turbulent and unconquer'd Spirit of the *Bulgarians*, and such others who having form'd themselves into a League with their Neighbours, had taken their Advantage during the late Troubles, and infested the Borders of the Empire. He first took a Progress into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, and having left a strong Party at *Thessalonica* to restrain the Inroads of *Samuel*, the King of *Bulgaria*, he shortly after march'd into *Iberia*, and from thence into *Phœnicia*, receiving Hostages from the *Saracens* of those Parts for their quiet Behaviour for the future. In his Passage thro' *Cappadocia*, *Eustathius Melenus*, a Commander in those Parts, entertain'd him and his whole Army; with which expensive Hospitality the Emperor seem'd outwardly to be very much pleas'd, but was inwardly concern'd to find any one Subject should be Master of so much Wealth, which could enable him to shake and endanger the Peace of the Empire. For this Reason, under a specious Pretext of a peculiar Esteem for him, he took him with him to *Constantinople*, from whence he would never after suffer him to return, but after his Death seiz'd on his vast Estate. A just Caution to those who endeavour to grow too wealthy and powerful for Subjects, by which means they generally become the Object of their Prince's Jealousie, and frequently of his Indignation.

Basilius *his Wars with the* Bulgarians.

Samuel hearing of the Garrison *Basilius* had left in *Thessalonica*, and being sensible how much the Possession of that Place would conduce to the Conquest of the whole Country, at which he aim'd, he plac'd part

of his Army in ambuſh at a convenient diſtance from the Town, and order'd the reſt to face it. The Governor was ſo far deluded by this Device, that he ſent his Son out againſt him, who, being eaſily drawn into the Snare, was taken Priſoner, and his Father ſlain, as he was ſallying out to his Aſſiſtance. Immediately upon this *Theſſalonica* fell into the Hands of *Samuel*, who grew inſolent upon his Succeſs; and croſſing the River *Peneus* made Inroads into *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*, and the very Heart of *Peloponneſus*. *Nicephorus Uranus*, the Commander in chief of the Weſtern Forces, was ſent with a ſtrong Army againſt him. *Uranus* obſerving the Diſpoſition of *Samuel*'s Forces, left his Baggage at *Lariſſa*; and having by long Marches paſs'd the *Pharſalian* Plains, and the River *Apidanus*, he encamp'd his whole Army on the Banks of *Spercheius*, directly oppoſite to *Samuel*. The River was at that time ſwoln ſo high with the great Rains, that *Samuel* thought it impoſſible for the *Romans* to paſs it, and therefore lay with the greater Security on t'other ſide. But *Uranus*, after a long ſearch, found out a Ford, and paſſing the River in the dead of Night, fell with great fury upon the *Bulgarians* as they lay aſleep, and made great Havock among 'em. *Samuel* and his Son were both dangerouſly wounded, and had unavoidably been taken had they not lurk'd that Day among the Slain; the Night following they ſtole away to the Mountains of *Ætolia*, and from thence they eſcap'd with much difficulty into *Bulgaria*, where *Samuel* was forc'd to marry the Captive Son of the late Governor of *Theſſalonica* to his only Daughter, who was ſo deſperately in Love with him, that ſhe declar'd ſhe would deſtroy her ſelf unleſs her Father would permit her to be marry'd to him. The Nuptial Solemnity being over, his new Son-in-Law was ſent to reſide with his Wife at *Dyrrachium*, of which Place *Samuel* appointed him Governor: But he had not been long there before he found an Opportunity of returning to *Conſtantinople*, where both he and his Wife, who readily attended

him

him thither, were honourably receiv'd, and preferr'd by the Emperor.

After this *Samuel*'s Affairs continu'd to be in a declining Condition 'till his Death, and the Emperor gain'd some considerable Advantages in every Expedition he undertook against him. He took *Vidina* from him by Storm; and having routed his Army, which lay with great Careleſſneſs upon the Banks of the River *Axius*, he had the City *Scopi*, one of the ſtrongeſt in thoſe Parts, deliver'd up to him by *Simeon* the Governor, whom the Emperor rewarded with the Dignity of a Patrician. *Samuel* was ſo far diſpirited by theſe frequent Defeats, that he durſt no more venture his Fortune in the open Field, but endeavour'd to circumvent *Baſilius* by Stratagem, and had cut him off with the greateſt part of his Forces in the *Straits* of *Cimba Longus*, where he had plac'd a ſtrong Guard, had not *Nicephorus Xiphias*, Governor of *Philippopolis*, with the Troops under his Command, gain'd a Hill, which lay towards the South, from whence he fell upon the Enemy's Rear, and gave *Baſilius* an eaſie Entrance into the *Straits*; immediately upon which the *Bulgarians* turn'd their Backs, and fled away in the greateſt Confuſion. Many of 'em were kill'd in the Chace, and *Samuel* very narrowly eſcap'd thro' the Valour and Conduct of his Son, who, with much difficulty carry'd him off into the Caſtle of *Prilapus*, or *Prailaba* in *Valachia*. *Baſilius* caus'd the Eyes of all his Priſoners, of whom he had many Thouſands, to be pluck'd out; and to every hundred he aſſign'd a Man who had one Eye left, who had Orders to conduct 'em to *Samuel*. *Samuel* being already broken with Age, and weary'd out by his Misfortunes, was not able to ſtand the Shock of ſo terrible a Spectacle, but fell down in a Swoon; and tho' thoſe about him reſtor'd him to himſelf, by the helps of ſome ſtrong Spirits, for the preſent, yet he dy'd within two Days after.

A. D. 1001. *His Succeſs.*

Tho' *Baſilius* promis'd himſelf, from the Death of *Samuel*, no leſs than an entire Subjection of all *Bulga-*

ria, which he afterwards effected, yet at firſt he met with many Difficulties, and receiv'd great Oppoſition from the Obſtinacy of ſome, and Perfidiouſneſs of others. *Gabriel*, the Son of *Samuel*, ſucceeded his Father as Prince of the Country; but being a Man of a mean Capacity, though remarkable for his prodigious Strength, he was ſhortly after murder'd by the Procurement of *John Bladiſthlabus*, a Perſon nearly related to him, and whoſe Life he had formerly preſerv'd. *Baſilius* after his late Victory, had purſu'd his Conqueſts, and reduc'd ſeveral of the ſtrong Caſtles and fortify'd Towns in the Country, in one of which he took ſome of the Principal Men among the *Bulgarians*, whom he kept with him as Inſtruments to facilitate his future Attempts. Here he receiv'd Letters from *John*, in which he inform'd him, that *Gabriel* being dead, the *Bulgarian* Kingdom was his, and promis'd to behave himſelf as the Emperor's Subject and Vaſſal. Theſe Letters were follow'd ſhortly after with others from the *Bulgarians*, who own'd themſelves Subjects to the Empire, and acknowledg'd a Submiſſion accordingly. *Baſilius* receiv'd the Meſſengers very graciouſly, and promis'd them his Favour and Protection; but being ſhortly after aſſur'd, that *John* had engag'd for more than ever he intended to perform, he return'd the Year following into *Bulgaria*, and reſolv'd never to give over 'till he had entirely ſubdu'd it. For having invaded it ſo often in Perſon, he thought his Honour would never ſuffer him to be at reſt 'till he had effected a final Conqueſt of it. Tho' the Emperor had moſt of the ſtrong Holds of the Country in his Hands, and the Strength of the *Bulgarian* Army was broken in a great meaſure by the late Wars, yet he found it a thing highly difficult to ſubdue a People animated with the love of Liberty, which they maintain'd to the laſt Gaſp, and defended their Country as others do ſingle Towns, loſing it by Piece-meal. But *John* being ſlain, after he had worn the Title of King and defended it with great Valour for two Years and about five Months,

The Bulgarians *ſubmit themſelves to the Emperor.*

Months, the *Bulgarians* at last sent their Deputies to the Emperor with Offers of a total and unfeigned Submission. *Basilius* receiv'd 'em with his usual Condescension, and conferr'd the Title of Patrician on all those that seem'd the most forward to comply, and surrender'd up their Castles to him. At *Achridus*, or *Achris*, one of the chief Cities of the Country, he was saluted with the general Acclamations of the People. There he seiz'd on the vast Treasure of the *Bulgarian* Princes, among which were several rich Crowns adorn'd with Pearl, and a great quantity of Gold, which he distributed as a Donative among his Soldiers. Shortly after this, being return'd to his Camp, the late King's Widow, attended by three of her Sons, and six Daughters, together with other Princes of the Blood, came up to him, and did him Homage. She had three other Sons by *John*, who at first fled up into the Mountains; but hearing how courteously the Emperor had receiv'd their Brethren, they voluntarily came down and submitted.

There now remain'd but one Man in all the Country capable of raising any Troubles, who had not submitted to *Basilius*. This was *Ibatzes*, a Man ally'd to the Royal Family, and one, who, during the late Wars, had given the World several Instances of his great Courage and Constancy. This Man refusing to submit to Necessity, or comply with the present posture of Affairs, seiz'd on a Mountain most difficult of Access, where he resolv'd to defend himself to the last extremity. This Obstinacy seem'd to put a dangerous stop to the Progress of the Emperor's Arms, and very much perplex'd him. He solicited him earnestly by Letter, to consider how rashly he had undertaken what in the end would draw inevitable Destruction down upon his Head, and concluded with large Promises of the mighty Advantages he had to expect from his Submission. *Ibatzes* continuing unmov'd with all the Emperor could suggest, *Eustathius Daphnomelus*, whom *Basilius* had lately made

A desperate Attempt.

Governor of *Achris*, undertook a thing no less dangerous in the Attempt, than extraordinary in the Execution. *Ibatzes* was known to have a particular regard for the Feast of the Assumption, to the Celebration of which Strangers, as well as Neighbours, were invited; and *Daphnomelus*, tho' not invited, ventur'd to be one among 'em. Being discover'd by the Sentinels, he declar'd openly who he was, and desir'd 'em to inform their Master that he was come to be his Guest at the Festival. *Ibatzes*, surpriz'd at his Boldness, who had thus unadvisedly thrown himself into an Enemy's Hands, receiv'd him very kindly; and, Morning-Prayer being over, follow'd him, at his Request, into a remote Place convenient for *Daphnomelus* his Design, where he pretended he had Matters of the highest Importance to communicate to him. Here *Daphnomelus*, who had two Men attending at some distance, and with whom he had concerted the Matter before, watch'd his Opportunity, and threw him suddenly to the Ground; the same Instant his Men came up, and thrusting their Cloaths violently into his Mouth, forc'd both his Eyes out of his Head. When that was done they all three drew their Swords, and got into one of the highest Chambers in the Castle, being prepar'd for the worst that could befal 'em. As soon as the Fact was known great Multitudes ran with a lamentable Outcry to the Castle, threat'ning the Villains, for so they call'd 'em, with the cruellest Death. *Daphnomelus*, having first encourag'd his Men to defend themselves to the utmost, and by the Motion of his Hand from the Window obtain'd Silence from the incens'd Mob, told 'em, That *what was done proceeded not from any Ill-will to the Person of* Ibatzes, *but a just Regard to the Emperor's Orders, who had commanded him to do it*; That *therefore they ought to consider him as no other than the Instrument of the Emperor's Pleasure, who had both the Power and the Will to vindicate his own Authority, and revenge whatever they should think fit upon that occasion to act against him and his*

two

two Servants; That *for their Parts they were resolv'd to sell their Lives as dear as they could, and should die with this Satisfaction, that being oppres'd with Multitudes it would be uncertain, whether they should receive more Honour, or their Enemies Disgrace, in their Fall.* The Multitude were so affected with a Speech spoken with such Resolution, that the most timorous among 'em withdrew immediately; and a few that were wiser than the rest congratulated *Daphnomelus* upon his Success, and promis'd an implicit Obedience to the Emperor for the future. *Daphnomelus* being thus deliver'd from the Danger that so eminently threaten'd him, led *Ihatzes* off without any Opposition to *Basilius*, who rewarded him with the Government of *Dyrrachium*, and all the rich Moveables of the Prisoner.

Basilius, having thus reduc'd *Ihatzes*, endeavour'd, A. D. in the best manner he could, to compose and settle 1019. the distracted Affairs of that Country; after which he return'd with his Prisoners, and several Hostages, to *Constantinople*, where the People receiv'd him with a Joy and Satisfaction answerable to his Success.

After the Conclusion of this War, which took up a great part of this Emperor's Reign, we meet with little memorable 'till his Death. The Nations adjoining to the *Bulgarians*, being less powerful, follow'd the same Fate, and did Homage to the Emperor. Some time before his Death, *Xiphas*, and *Nicepherus* the Son of *Bardas Phocas*, rais'd a Rebellion against him, taking the Advantage of the Emperor's Absence in an Expedition into *Iberia*: But *Basilius*, by his cunning Management, so far wrought upon them, that *Xiphas* circumvented *Nicepherus*, and slew him, by that means putting a stop to a Rebellion to which he had first given Life. *Basilius* proceeded with great Severity against all those that had engag'd themselves in this Rebellion, sparing none who appear'd in the least affected to it. As he declin'd in Years he grew more jealous and remorseless; his great Success in his Wars made him arrogant and untractable, and yet he was

fear'd

fear'd and eſteem'd by his Subjects, who had con-
A. D. 1025. ceiv'd a mean Opinion of his Brother *Conſtantine*, upon the Account of his diſſolute unactive Life. *Baſilius*, notwithſtanding his great Age, lov'd ſtill to be at the Head of his Armies in Action; and being inform'd that the *Saracens* in *Sicily* committed great Inſolencies upon the Subjects of the Empire, and infeſted the Sea Coaſts, he rais'd a powerful Army with an intent to reſtrain and chaſtiſe 'em. Accordingly he ſent a ſtrong Body of his Forces before, under the Conduct of *Oreſtes* his Favourite Eunuch, and intended to follow in Perſon ſhortly after, but was pre-
Baſilius *dies.* vented by Death in the Month of *December*, *A. D.* 1025, after he had liv'd ſeventy Years, and reign'd fifty.

His Character. This Emperor's Reign was long, and full of Action, throughout which he choſe rather to be fear'd than belov'd by his Subjects. He affected a great Command over his Paſſions, which however very often got the Aſcendant over him upon the ſmalleſt Provocations. Tho' from his Youth he was much addicted to the Wars, yet he took little or no care to ingratiate himſelf with the Soldiers, who notwithſtanding reſpected his Perſon, and obey'd him chearfully. He had little or no Eſteem for Learning, or learned Men, tho' in other reſpects he frequently appear'd deſirous of Fame, and was often guilty of Oſtentation. He took a great Delight in keeping his Coffers full, and had collected vaſt quantities of Pearls, and rich Jewels, with which he never appear'd but upon great Feſtivals, and when he gave Audience to Foreign Ambaſſadors. However, he was highly eſteem'd by the generality of his Subjects for his diligent Application to publick Affairs, and his fortunate Succeſs in all his Undertakings. 'Tis much to his Reputation, that he at length effected an abſolute Conqueſt over the *Bulgarians*, which had for a long time been in vain attempted by ſo many of his Predeceſſors. *Baſilius* dy'd in the ſecond Year of *Con-*

rade

rade the First Emperor of *Germany*, and of *John* the Nineteenth Pope of *Rome*, and sixth of *Ferdinand* the First King of *Castile*.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Basilius *to the Reign of* Alexius Comnenus, *in whose Time the Western Christians undertook their Expedition into the Holy Land.*

Containing the Space of Fifty Six Years.

I. THO' *Constantine* had born the Name of Emperor in Conjunction with his Brother, and might be thought, as well from his Age as Experience, to be justly qualify'd for that Supream Dignity, yet in every respect he behav'd himself altogether unworthy of it; and it too visibly appear'd after *Basilius* his Death, that it was happy for the State he did not die before. For *Constantine* being a dissolute, vicious Prince in his own Nature, employ'd none about him but Persons as infamous as himself, preferring 'em to the most considerable Employments in the Government. These Men, that they might answer the Ends for which they were advanc'd, oppress'd the Provinces, and burden'd the People, so that the State may be said to suffer more under the short Reign of this Emperor, than it had prosper'd under those of *Nicephorus*, *Zimisces* and *Basilius*, who had severally contributed so exceedingly to the Strength and Advancement of it. Besides, *Constantine* appear'd no less zealous in the Oppression and Ruin of good and worthy Men, especially such as he imagin'd had formerly been forward to discover his vicious Practices to his Brother; so that a Day hardly pass'd that was not made infamous by the Fall

A. D. 1026.

Constantine's *Management of his Affairs.*

Fall of ſome Great Man, whoſe Virtues were his only Crimes. Amongſt the reſt *Nicephorus Comnanus* was as remarkable for his Diſgrace as he was renown'd for his Virtue. *Nicephorus* had for ſome time commanded a Body of the Imperial Forces upon the Borders againſt the *Saracens*; and having obſerv'd that his Soldiers by degrees grew wanton and effeminate, he labour'd to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Diſcipline amongſt 'em, and after he had, by frequent Exhortations, reminded 'em of their Duty, he bound 'em all, by a voluntary Oath, never to forſake him, but oppoſe the Enemy to the laſt extremity. When the Report of this honourable Aſſociation was brought to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor's cowardly effeminate Miniſters repreſented the thing to be of ſo dangerous a Conſequence to his Safety, that they eaſily prevail'd with him to have *Nicephorus* depriv'd of his Command, and ſhortly after to have his Eyes pluck'd out. He proceeded with the ſame Severity and Injuſtice againſt *Bardas* the Son of the late famous *Phocas*, whoſe extraordinary Merit had render'd him ſuſpected, or envy'd by the unworthy Emperor; for which reaſon he ſuborn'd Witneſſes, who accus'd him of Conſpiring againſt *Conſtantine*, who gave an open Ear to their Accuſations, and puniſh'd him accordingly. Theſe Proceedings againſt Men of the greateſt Reputation in the Empire rais'd a general Diſcontent among the People, and that gave a Beginning to ſeveral Mutinies and Inſurrections, which however were all happily ſuppreſs'd, and the Emperor's chief Care was to puniſh thoſe who had leaſt deſerv'd it. For all thoſe of any Power in the State, who were too good to be his Favourites, and diſlik'd the Management of Affairs, were by ſubtle colluſive Arguments prov'd guilty, and remov'd to make way for others more agreeable to the preſent Temper of the Court. Theſe his Proceedings at home expos'd him to the Contempt of the Nations abroad, ſo that ſeveral Irruptions were made into the Territories of the

Em-

Empire, but were, with much ado, reſtrain'd by the great Diligence of thoſe who commanded on the Borders. At length *Conſtantine*, being declin'd in Years, and enervated by his ſenſual Pleaſures, fell dangerouſly ill, and was given over by his Phyſicians. He had three Daughters by *Helena*, the Daughter of *Alynius* the Patrician, but never a Son, ſo that the whole Court was divided into ſeveral Cabals upon Deſignation of a Succeſſor. Some propos'd *Conſtantinus Delaſſenus*, who at that time commanded the Forces in *Armenia*; and others labour'd with great Earneſtneſs for *Romanus Argyrus*, a Man of an ancient Family, and nearly ally'd to the Emperor. It was concluded, that whoever ſucceeded ſhould marry one of the Emperor's Daughters, which at firſt ſeem'd much to oppoſe thoſe who were for the Promotion of *Romanus*, who was already marry'd; but they, having the greateſt Intereſt in *Conſtantine*, prevail'd with him to ſend for *Romanus*, and propoſe to him either to loſe his Eyes, or marry one of the Emperor's Daughters, and be created *Cæſar*. *Romanus* continu'd for ſome time undetermin'd, 'till his Wife, hearing of the Conditions, and fearing leſt his Conſtancy would coſt him his Eyes, voluntarily ſhav'd her ſelf, and turn'd Nun: By this means ſhe made Room for *Zoe* the Emperor's ſecond Daughter, to whom he was ſhortly after marry'd, and created *Cæſar*. Upon the third Day after the Nuptials *Conſtantine* dy'd, after he had liv'd ſomething more than Seventy Years, and had been Emperor without a Collegue almoſt three, *A. D.* 1028.

ROMANUS II.

Romanus being thus beyond Expectation rais'd to the Imperial Dignity, at firſt behav'd himſelf like an active careful Prince. He releas'd the People of many Taxes, with which ſeveral of his Predeceſſors, eſpecially *Conſtantine*, had burden'd 'em, and recommended himſelf by ſeveral Acts of Grace and Royal Favours. His Liberality to the Church was extraordinary, as was likewiſe his Indulgence to thoſe who had been taken

Romanus *his firſt Actions.*

Priſoners

Prisoners in the late Wars, and were detain'd in Captivity; for he generously releas'd 'em at his own Expence, and gave those who were in Necessity, a comfortable Subsistance at their Return home: During the whole Reign of his Predecessor, the Empire was infested with a most grievous Drought; but now, as if Divine Providence had been atton'd by these Acts of Charity, the Earth was again refresh'd by seasonable Rains, which produc'd an abundance of all Fruits, especially of Oil.

The Affairs in the East. But whilst the People at *Constantinople* were congratulating their new Emperor for his auspicious Reign, the *Roman* Interest receiv'd a great Blow from the Arms of the *Saracens* in the East, which was chiefly owing to the Indiscretion of *Spondyles*, whom *Constantine* had made Governor of *Antioch*. The Emperor *Nicephorus*, as has been observ'd before, very much enlarg'd the Borders of the Empire in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, where he recover'd most of the Cities, and his Successor *Zimisces* pursu'd the Conquest as far as *Damascus*. The Beginning of *Basilius* his Reign was busied in the Civil Wars, and they were succeeded by that with the *Bulgarians*, in which he was so wholly employ'd, that the Eastern Parts lay neglected, which encourag'd the *Saracens* to prepare for some Action, tho' they attempted nothing whilst that Emperor liv'd; but under the dissolute Government of his Successor they openly declar'd themselves, whereupon the chief Cities in the East threw off the Yoke, and asserting their Liberty, massacred all the Soldiers that were Garrison'd among 'em. None appear'd more active in this Revolution, than the Governor or Caliph of *Berræa*, who by his continu'd Incursions grievously infested *Antioch*, and the adjacent Country. *Spondyles* endeavour'd in several Engagements to restrain him, but being constantly worsted by him, he return'd with much Dishonour into the City, where he was over-reach'd by the Subtilty of *Asaraptius* a Captive *Arabian*, who, perceiving his Vanity and Indiscretion, undertook to perform

The Saracens revolt.

mighty

mighty Matters againſt the *Saracens*, if he might but be ſet at Liberty, and particularly ſhow'd *Spondyles* a Plat of Ground, whereon if he might be permitted to build a Fort, he promis'd to make it eminently ſerviceable to the Emperor. *Spondyles* readily believ'd what the *Arabian* had advanc'd; and having given him his Liberty committed the Building of the Fort to his Care; and when it was finiſh'd Garriſon'd it with a thouſand Men under the Command of *Aſſaraptius*, who, having thus accompliſh'd his End, maintain'd a Correſpondence with the General of the *Saracens*, who ſent him a Body of Men to whom he ſurrender'd the Caſtle, having firſt, by their Aſſiſtance, put all the Garriſon to the Sword.

Hereupon the Emperor, having remov'd *Spondyles* from his Command, reſolv'd upon an Expedition in Perſon againſt the Infidels, with a purpoſe to redeem, if poſſible, ſo much Loſs and Diſgrace, and proſecute the War with Vigour. But before he was advanc'd far on his Way, the *Saracens*, upon a Report of his mighty Preparations, ſent their Meſſengers with Preſents from *Berræa* to ask Pardon for what was paſt, and promiſe to return to their former Obedience, and faithfully pay their uſual Tribute for the future. Thoſe of moſt Experience in the Army adviſ'd *Romanus* to accept of their Submiſſion, and proceed no farther, alledging, among other Reaſons, that in the Summer time *Syria* ſtood much in want of Water; that the *Saracens*, being accuſtom'd to it, could endure both Heat and Thirſt; but that the *Romans*, being loaden with their heavy Armour, could ſupport themſelves under neither. *Romanus* had done wiſely had he liſten'd to theſe Remonſtrances, but being poſſeſs'd with a Vanity of the great Honour he ſhould acquire, he rejected the Meſſengers with Diſdain, and proceeded on in his Expedition. Being enter'd into *Syria* he detach'd a Party, who were to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy, and diſcover whereabouts the Army might moſt commodiouſly encamp.

The Emperor's Expedition againſt them.

encamp. This Party fell unhappily into an Ambuſcade laid deſignedly for 'em, and were all cut off; with which Succeſs the *Saracens* were ſo encourag'd, that they intercepted thoſe of the *Romans* that were ſent out to Forage; and knowing well enough in what their greateſt Want conſiſted, cut off their Supplies of Water, by which means the Army was in time reduc'd to the laſt Extremity. *Conſtantinus Delaſſenus*, who had lately before been nam'd by ſome to ſucceed *Conſtantine* the late Emperor, was ſent out with a ſufficient Power to reſtrain the *Saracens*, and cover the Foragers; but he being a Man of a weak cowardly Spirit, ran back in great Confuſion at the firſt Appearance of the Enemy, and ſtruck the reſt of the Army with ſuch Conſternation, that every Man conſider'd how he might beſt ſecure himſelf, and in a Council of War it was reſolv'd to decamp, and march to *Antioch*. Accordingly, as ſoon as it was Light, the whole Army broke up, and in a weak and ſickly Condition began to march. The *Arabians*, who were very well inform'd of the State they were in, Way-laid 'em; and having drawn 'em into a Place convenient for their purpoſe, fell with great Violence upon 'em, whilſt the *Romans*, ready to expire without the Aſſiſtance of an Enemy, ran ſhamefully away, and were either taken or kill'd by the Purſuers, or born down and trodden to pieces by their Fellows. The Emperor himſelf, being courageouſly defended by his own Guards, eſcap'd with much difficulty to *Antioch*, where he found time to reflect on the ill Succeſs of his raſh and unfortunate Undertaking. The Enemy got all the Emperor's Baggage, which they might have carry'd off without any Oppoſition, had they not been over-reach'd by a Stratagem of their own deviſing. *George Maniaces*, a *Macedonian*, was at that time Governor of a ſmall Province, and a Town of no little Importance for the Emperor in thoſe Parts; hither eight hundred of the *Saracens*, loaden with the rich Plunder of the Emperor's Camp, came,

The Roman *Army deſtroy'd.*

came, after the Pursuit was over, and summon'd *Maniaces* to surrender, affirming that the Emperor himself was taken, his Army totally defeated, and that it was impossible for him to hold out against the resolute Conquerors; to confirm what they with so much Confidence had alledg'd, they shew'd him their rich Booty, and promis'd him mighty Favours upon Condition he would submit, otherwise that he must expect nothing but an inevitable Destruction. *Maniaces*, either doubtful of the Truth of what they had affirm'd, or resolv'd to sell the City as dear as he could, seem'd to give Credit to their Information; and having thank'd 'em for their kind Advice, he sent 'em out a great Quantity of Provisions, with which he desir'd 'em to refresh themselves that Night, and promis'd to deliver up the Town to 'em as soon as it was Light. The Infidels believ'd all he said, and without any Distrust eat and drunk to that excess, that when *Maniaces* issu'd out at Midnight, as he had before determin'd, he found 'em drunk and asleep, and kill'd 'em all before they were able to make the least Resistance. After which he took two hundred and eighty Camels loaden with the rich Effects of the late Victory, all which he presented to the Emperor, who by that time was got into *Cappadocia*, and was so sensible of this seasonable piece of Service, that he made *Maniaces* Captain or Governour of the Lower *Media*. After this he return'd very dejected to *Constantinople*, where, as if his late Success had discourag'd him from any Warlike Attempts for the future, he busied himself in severe Exactions, and oppressing his Subjects at home. He renew'd his Claim to old Debts, thought to have been bury'd in utter Oblivion, and proceeded with so inexorable a Rigour in the Recovery of 'em, that many Persons of noble Families and large Inheritances were driven from their Estates, and constrain'd to beg their Bread from Door to Door. Tho' the Money rais'd from these Claims, ought to have been lodg'd in the Publick Treasury, where it was due, yet was that and

Romanus his great Severity.

other immenſe Sums, by which the Exchequer was exhauſted, conſum'd in expenſive Buildings, and beſtow'd on Monks, on whom he conferr'd whole Cities and Provinces at once; and they being thus enrich'd by the Profuſe and Superſtitious Emperor, renounc'd the Auſterities of Life to which they were by Vow engag'd, and grew Voluptuous, Proud and Effeminate.

Theſe Proceedings of the Emperor rais'd a general Diſcontent in the People, which gave a Beginning to ſeveral Plots and Commotions in the State. *Conſtantine*, the late Emperor, left behind him two Daughters beſide *Zoe* the Empreſs. The eldeſt of which, call'd *Eudocia*, having been diſfigur'd by the Plague, turn'd Nun; and *Theodora*, the youngeſt, refuſing to marry *Romanus*, either becauſe he was too near a Kin to her, as ſhe pretended, or for that his firſt Wife, of whom mention has been made before, was ſtill alive, afterwards gave Life to ſeveral Plots and Undertakings againſt him, for which Treaſon *Zoe* the Empreſs had her ſhaven, conſtrain'd her to turn Nun, and confin'd her to a Monaſtery, from whence we ſhall ſee her remov'd hereafter, to appear cloath'd in the Imperial Purple.

A great Plague. At the ſame time that the Court was diſtracted by theſe Fears and Jealouſies, ſo great a Plague and Famine rag'd throughout *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Armenia*, and ſeveral other Provinces, that the Inhabitants were forc'd to leave their Dwellings, and diſperſe themſelves into other Parts of the Empire. This was ſucceeded by a terrible Earthquake, and that by a Comet which paſs'd from the North towards the South with a terrible Noiſe, and ſeem'd to inflame the whole Horizon. And indeed the Hiſtories of theſe Times are full of ſurprizing Prodigies, which for ſeveral Years together ſeem'd to threaten the Empire, and denounce the Wrath of Heaven againſt it. Tho' *Romanus* his Forces proſper'd abroad, and obtain'd ſeveral conſiderable Advantages over the Infidels near *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and againſt the *African Saracens*, whoſe Fleet was deſtroy'd by *Nicephorus Carentenus*, his Admiral; yet theſe

Domeſtick

Domestick Misfortunes made him reflect on his past Actions, and inclin'd him to Works of Mercy and Compassion. He re-edify'd the Hospitals near *Constantinople*, erected for the Relief of the Poor, and that had been destroy'd by the late Earthquakes, and repairing the Aqueducts, supply'd the City with Water, of which it began to be in great want. The rest of his time, which was not assign'd to these Acts of Charity, was employ'd in his Devotions, and Conversation with religious Persons, whom he carefully reliev'd, protected and encourag'd; so that, in all probability, he would have dy'd universally lamented by his Subjects, whom he now labour'd to reconcile and oblige, had his Empress suffer'd him to live longer. He was sixty Years of Age when he was first marry'd to her, notwithstanding which he flatter'd himself with many Years to come, and the Happiness of Children to succeed him. Accordingly at first he made use of Ointments and other Expedients, that might enable him to meet her with a vigorous Heat. And omitted no Arts to make himself strong, and prepare her for Conception. The Empress, being of a hot and amorous Constitution, made use of Charms and Inchantments to provoke and allure him; but when he found all his Endeavours prov'd ineffectual, he totally declin'd such Conjugal Visits, being by Nature averse, and by Age become incapable of those Carnal Conflicts. The Empress, whilst she had no other Object to provoke her Lust, bore with him patiently; but having at length cast her Eyes on *Michael*, the Brother of *John* an Eunuch in great Authority with the Emperor, an adulterate Heat incens'd her against him, and provok'd her shortly after to remove him out of the Way. The Account we have of this Action shews us how ungovernable Women are in their Lust, when they are abandon'd to it; for tho' *Zoe* hated *John* to the last degree, yet had she no sooner entertain'd a Passion for *Michael*, but she quitted her former Resentments, and frequently entertain'd a familiar A. D. 1034.

miliar Converſation with him, tho' for no other Reaſon, but that ſhe might have an Opportunity of bringing his Brother, who, through the Eunuch's Intereſt, was made one of the Bed-Chamber, into the Diſcourſe. *John* was at firſt ſurpris'd at this unuſual Condeſcenſion in the Empreſs; but when he found, from repeated Obſervations, that his Brother was ſtill the darling Topick of her Converſation, he acquainted him with what he had obſerv'd, and adviſ'd him, if ever ſhe apply'd her ſelf familiarly to him, to receive her with the Air of a Lover, and never recede 'till he had won the laſt Favour from her, which, he thought, might with little or no Difficulty be obtain'd. *Michael*, thus inſtructed, found an eaſie Conqueſt, and their Amours grew at firſt the Diſcourſe of the Court, and afterwards of the whole City, the Emperor himſelf, as it is uſual in thoſe Caſes, being the laſt that entertain'd any Suſpicion of it. Some ſay he tax'd *Michael* with it, who ſolemnly upon Oath deny'd it; for which Perjury he was ſaid to be ſtruck with a terrible Diſeaſe, being ſeiz'd with a Frenzy, and dreadful Convulſions at his Eyes, which made him pity'd by the Emperor, who ſuſpected him no longer, but thought him a very unfit Perſon to allure an Empreſs to his Embraces. Others ſay *Romanus* was throughly convinc'd of their Intrigues, but knowing from Experience how wantonly the Empreſs was inclin'd, wink'd at her Practices, leſt he ſhould provoke her to be more infamouſly a Proſtitute. However it were, this Impunity coſt the aged Emperor his Life; for *Zoe*, grown impatient of being any longer confin'd in her Amours, which ſhe was forc'd to manage ſecretly and in fear, reſolv'd, by the Death of the Emperor, to make way for a more open and avow'd Enjoyment of 'em, and for that Purpoſe gave him a Poiſon, which working ſlowly ſeiz'd him inſenſibly, and by degrees deſtroy'd him. As it began to work his Face ſwell'd, and was diſcolour'd; his Hair fell off, and he labour'd under a Difficulty of Reſpiration. Tho'

Romanus poiſon'd by the Empreſs.

Zoe

Zoe had no reason to distrust the Effects of her Physick, yet was she so impatient, that she order'd her Creatures, appointed to that Purpose, to stifle him on the eleventh, or, as some say, on the fifteenth of *April*, by holding his Head under Water, as he was refreshing himself in a Bath, out of which he was remov'd to his Bed speechless, but not quite dead. Thither the Empress hasten'd with an affected Lamentation to bewail the Loss she had her self procurld, and left him not 'till she saw him breathe his last, after he had reign'd five Years and six Months, *A. D.* 1034. *Is stifled in a Bath.*

Romanus had in his Youth apply'd himself to Learning, and had a good taste of the old *Greek* Authors, and some Knowledge of the Civil Laws, and for that reason he appear'd a great Encourager of learned Men after his Advancement to the Imperial Dignity, of which he seem'd more worthy before his Creation, than capable after he was elected. Tho' for his many Acts of Justice and Charity, as well at the Beginning as the latter End of his Reign, he is deservedly to be number'd among those who govern'd well; he might, in all probability, have been happier, as he would undoubtedly have liv'd longer, in a private State; but she, who gave him the Empire, procur'd him likewise his Death, not more to the Detriment of the State than her own Shame and Disgrace. *His Character.*

The Emperor being dead, whilst the Passion of our Saviour, or the Office appointed for *Good-Friday*, was celebrated in the Church, *Alexius* the Patriarch, ignorant of what had been transacted at Court, was sent for thither in great haste, as by Command from *Romanus*, whom, at his coming, he found dead; and being introduc'd to *Zoe*, she commanded him to marry her to *Michael*. The Patriarch, surpris'd at the Novelty, as well as Heinousness of the thing, stood silent for some time, and declin'd the Office, 'till *John* and the Empress presented him with fifty Pounds of Gold, and gave as much more to his Clergy, and so prevail'd upon him to comply. By this means *Michael* MICHAEL IV.

Michael *the* Paphlagonian *made Emperor.*

chael was advanc'd to the Throne, and was Partner with *Zoe* not only in the Bed, but in the Imperial Power, which *Zoe* at first thought to reserve entire to her self, and to be absolute in the Empire. Of this *John* the Eunuch, *Michael*'s Brother, who knew the ambitious, as well as amorous Temper of *Zoe*, was seasonably aware, and therefore reflecting on *Romanus* his Fate, he suddenly remov'd all the Women, in whom she had any Confidence, from her; he dismiss'd all the Eunuchs, and substituted his own assur'd Friends, and most intimate Acquaintance in their Places, by which means she was confin'd in a manner as to a Prison, being able to do nothing of the least Moment without his Knowledge and Approbation.

When the Eunuch had thus, as it were, disarm'd her, and prevented her from doing any Mischief at home, he dispatch'd his Letters into the Provinces, by which the Governors were acquainted with the Death of *Romanus*, and the Succession of *Michael*, who, he said, was by common Consent marry'd to *Zoe* the late Emperor's Widow. None of the Great Men seem'd displeas'd at this Alteration, but *Constantinus Delassenus*, of whom mention has been made already, who being one of the first Quality in the Empire, was highly offended that a Man of *Michael*'s obscure Birth should be preferr'd to others of the highest Rank and Deserts. *John*, knowing the Interest as well as the Ambition of *Delassenus*, endeavour'd by all means to gain him, and at length, after much Diffidence on the one side, and Promises, Presents, Oaths, and Asseverations on the other, prevail'd with him to come to Court, where he was very kindly receiv'd at first, but shortly after was banish'd, upon a form'd Accusation, into the Island *Prota*; from thence he was remov'd to a strong Tower, where he was confin'd 'till after the Banishment of *Michael Calaphates*, when *Zoe* the Empress sent for him to Court. At the same time *John* remov'd and confin'd such others, in whom he thought he could not safely confide;

side; amongst the rest *Constantinus Monomachus*, who, when in his turn he came to be Emperor, remember'd in what manner he had proceeded against him. Having thus remov'd those, whom he thought ill affected to his Family, he committed the Government of the Provinces, and the Charge of Civil Affairs to none but Eunuchs. *Maniaces*, whom the late Emperor had made Governor of *Edessa*, was remov'd to the Upper *Media*, lest continuing long in one Place, his Interest might in time grow so strong as to render him formidable to the Emperor. *Nicetas*, the Emperor's Brother, was made Governor of *Antioch*, where dying shortly after, he was succeeded by his other Brother *Constantine*, enrich'd with the Estates of three of the most wealthy Men in *Asia*, who had been banish'd upon a pretence of holding a Treasonable Correspondence with *Delassenus*. For all this while the supream Power rested in *John*, tho' the Name of Emperor was reserv'd to *Michael*, who, besides the ill Condition of his Body, began to be distemper'd in his Mind, and, conscious of the great Sin he had committed in the Murther of *Romanus*, he apply'd himself wholly to his Devotions, hoping, by Acts of Piety and Liberality to the Poor, to expiate his great Offence; tho', as the Writers of those Times observe, all he did upon that Account could profit him little or nothing, since he still lay in the Arms of the Adultéress, and enjoy'd the Price of Murder and Treason. When *John* observ'd the dangerous Condition of his Brother's Health, he concluded, if he dy'd, the Empress, upon the Recovery of her Authority, would gratifie her Revenge with the Ruin of him and all his Family, if some Expedient was not found out to prevent it. At his Instigation therefore the Emperor promoted *Michael*, surnam'd *Calaphates*, his Sister's Son, to the Dignity of *Cæsar*, and banish'd all the Brothers and Relations of *Delassenus*, so jealous was *John* grown of that Man.

John the Eunuch, Brother to the Emperor, governs all.

All this while *Zoe* the Empress was highly provok'd at the Restraint put upon her, and looking on *John* as

no other than her Goaler, endeavour'd to get rid of
A.D. 1036. him by Poiſon, but the Deſign was diſcover'd before it could be executed, and ſerv'd only to admoniſh *John* to ſtand more upon his Guard for the future. This happen'd in the third Year of this Emperor's Reign, which was remarkable for a Truce of thirty Years concluded betwixt him and the *Egyptian Saracens*, whoſe Caliph being lately dead, his Widow is ſaid to have embrac'd Chriſtianity, together with her Son, and to have offer'd Peace to the *Romans*. The Year following was no leſs remarkable for three ſeveral Earthquakes, which did great Miſchief in ſeveral Parts of the Empire; and for the Attempt of the *Saracens* upon the City of *Edeſſa*, which narrowly eſcap'd falling into their Hands. Twelve of the Principal Men of their Nation came to the Governor of that City with five hundred Horſe, and as many Camels, all loaden with heavy Boxes: They pretended the Boxes contain'd Preſents, which they were carrying to the Emperor, and deſir'd they might be admitted into the Town. The Governor entertain'd the twelve Perſons with great Civility at a Feaſt, but, knowing the deceitful Practices of that Nation, refus'd to receive the Horſemen and Camels into the City, which was preſerv'd by this Diffidence; for there was no leſs than twelve thouſand arm'd Men conceal'd in thoſe Boxes, who were order'd in the dead of Night to get into the Caſtle, and, having kill'd the Sentinels, they were to ſecure both that and the Town. The Deſign being diſcover'd to the Governor by a poor *Armenian*, he left the Feaſt on a ſudden, and taking a ſufficient Force with him, ſeiz'd on the *Saracens* as they lay without the Town, and kill'd every one of 'em upon the Spot: After which he return'd to his Gueſts, who met with much the ſame Treatment from him, for he ſpar'd but one, whom having depriv'd of his Hand, Ears, and Noſe, he ſent him home in that Condition to give his Countrymen an Account of their Succeſs. All this while *Zoe* enjoy'd ſmall Fruits

A Deſign of the Saracens upon Edeſſa prevented.

of

of her late unnatural Treason and Adultery; for besides that *John* observ'd her with a wary Eye, and restrain'd the natural Impetuosity of her Spirit; the Emperor's Distemper had by this time prevail'd so much upon him, that he was not only grown infirm, and incapable of concurring with her wanton Desires, but so alter'd in his Person, which was at first exceeding beautiful, that he was now deform'd and loathsome. This serv'd only to augment the great Authority of *John*, *Zoe*'s most implacable Adversary; for whilst the Emperor, who besides his old Distemper was now grievously afflicted with a Dropsie, abandon'd himself to Acts of Penitence and Devotion, *John* govern'd the Empire with an unlimited Power, which he made use of to the Oppression and Impoverishment of the People, and the Aggrandizing his own Family. And as if these Calamities were not sufficient to humble and correct a guilty People, terrible Earthquakes and destructive Tempests seem'd to shake the Foundations of the Earth, which, tho' horrible and amazing in themselves, seem'd to bring this Comfort with them, that they denounc'd the approaching Fall of the Tyrants. These domestick Calamities were followed by others from abroad, which were like to have prov'd fatal to the Empire; for the *Bulgarians* revolted the very same Year, and threw off their Allegiance. A Citizen of *Constantinople* had in his Service a *Bulgarian*, call'd *Deleanus*, or *Dolianus*, who running from his Master upon some Provocations given him, escap'd into *Bulgaria*, where he confidently affirm'd he was the Son of *Gabriel*, and Grandson to *Samuel*, late King of that Country; being a Man of a ready Wit and personable Appearance, the giddy *Bulgarians*, grown weary of the Yoke to which they had but lately submitted, receiv'd him with joyful Acclamations, and proclaim'd him King, cruelly murdering all the *Romans* that had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. This Insurrection was follow'd by a Revolt of the Inhabitants of *Dyrrachium* in *Albania*, occasion'd by

The Bulgarians *revolt, and proclaim* Dolianus *King;*

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an unſeaſonable Quarrel betwixt *Michael Dermocaitas*, a Tribune in the Army, and *Baſilius Synademus*, Governor of that City. For as he was marching out againſt the *Bulgarians* with the Forces garriſon'd in that Place, the Contention was carry'd ſo high between 'em, that the Tribune accus'd *Synademus* of Treaſon at Court; whereupon he was ſeiz'd by Order from the Emperor, and ſent Priſoner to *Theſſalonica*, and the Accuſer was preferr'd to the Government of *Dyrrachium* in his ſtead; in which he behav'd himſelf with ſo much Inſolence, and oppreſs'd the Inhabitants with ſuch cruel Exactions, that they roſe up againſt him, and forc'd him out of the Town. When this was done, and they began to conſider how the Matter would be reſented by the Emperor, deſpairing of Pardon they openly revolted, and choſe *Teichomere*, a Soldier of great Reputation among them, for their King.

and the Inhabitants of Dyrrachium *make choice of* Teichomere *for their King.*

This unexpected Election at firſt very much ſurpriz'd *Deleanus* and his Adherents, for there were now two great Factions in *Bulgaria*, and neither of 'em very likely to attain their Ends, but rather to effect each other's Ruin. Of this *Deleanus* was very ſenſible, and therefore endeavour'd to obtain that by Artifice, which Fortune ſeem'd to deny to more open Attempts. Accordingly he ſent *Teichomere* a very obliging Letter, in which he told him how well pleas'd he ſhould be to have him for his Collegue, and earneſtly invited him to come and ſhare the Sovereignty with him. *Teichomere*, who had more of the Soldier than Statesman, believ'd him ſincere in his Profeſſions, and went without any diſtruſt and join'd with him. When *Deleanus* had thus got him, as he thought, into his Power, he watch'd his Opportunity, and in a form'd Speech, which he made to the Soldiers, he told 'em, *He was of Opinion* Bulgaria *would not admit of two Kings together, and that therefore they ought either to confirm his Election, who was deſcended from* Samuel, *and remove* Teichomere, *or if they thought him moſt worthy*

worthy then to eſtabliſh him. This Speech at firſt created a great Conteſt in the Army, by whom *Teichomere* was entirely belov'd; but at length *Deleanus* his Faction prevail'd, not only in the Choice of him for their King, but the Stoning of the unhappy *Teichomere*; by whoſe Death *Deleanus* being become abſolute without a Rival, he march'd with his Army towards *Theſſalonica*, where he heard the Emperor lay, who, upon the firſt Report of *Deleanus* his Approach, fled in a precipitate manner to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all his Baggage and Treaſure behind him to the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, one of his Domeſticks, who having Orders to follow with it after him, betray'd his Truſt, and carry'd it over to *Deleanus*, whoſe Party was ſtrengthen'd by ſome new Acceſſion almoſt every Day; ſo that in a ſhort Time he took not only *Dyrrachium*, and the Territories adjoining to it, but almoſt the whole Province of *Nicopolis*, whilſt *John* the Eunuch, inſtead of preventing the ill Conſequences of ſuch a Revolution, and providing Forces to oppoſe and ſuppreſs the Uſurper, grew more licentious in his Exactions, and diſguſted moſt of thoſe who had the Power or Will to ſerve the Emperor. Among theſe was *Aluſianus*, the Son of *Aaron*, and Brother to *John*, the laſt King of *Bulgaria*, who, when that Country ſubmitted to *Baſilius*, was kindly receiv'd by the Emperor, and gratify'd with the Dignity of a Patrician; but now, being accus'd of ſome unjuſt Proceedings, he was forbidden the Court 'till his Cauſe could be brought to an Hearing, and oblig'd to pay a great Sum of Gold to *John*, who moreover forc'd a beautiful Woman from him, whom he had kept ſecretly in the Country, and for whom he had a very extraordinary Paſſion, which incens'd him more than all the reſt; wherefore cloathing himſelf in an *Armenian* Habit he got undiſcover'd into *Bulgaria*, where the generality of the People receiv'd him with great Demonſtrations of Joy, and *Deleanus* careſs'd him outwardly with much Tenderneſs,

who is ſton'd to Death.

neſs, but was inwardly offended at the Preſence of one, who was a real Deſcendant of that Family of which he pretended himſelf a Member. Obſerving how entirely the Soldiers appear'd affected to him, and how much his Greatneſs was like to be eclips'd, he thought it the wiſeſt way to make a voluntary Offer, and ſhare that Dominion with him, to which he appear'd to have the ſole Right. *Aluſianus* being therefore receiv'd as his Collegue, was inſtantly ſent at the Head of forty thouſand Men to beſiege *Theſſalonica*, which however *Conſtantine* the Patrician, and Kinſman to the Emperor, defended with ſo much Conduct and Reſolution, that he was in the end forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and leave fifteen thouſand of his Men dead behind him.

This Defeat ripen'd the Jealouſies and Diſtaſte that had been already conceiv'd between the two Competitors, for *Deleanus* would aſcribe the late Overthrow to nothing but Treachery, and *Aluſianus* grew more peeviſh and untractable from the ſenſe of his Diſgrace, ſo that each in private meditated nothing but the Deſtruction of the other; and *Aluſianus* having invited his Collegue to an Entertainment, firſt made him drunk, and then pluck'd out his Eyes; immediately after which, being doubtful of his own Intereſt, and the fickle Humour of the *Bulgarians*, he ſent to *Michael*, promiſing to ſubmit and return to his Obedience, upon Condition of a Pardon, and ſuch a Reward as his Service might be thought to deſerve, which was readily granted him by the Emperor, who had reſolv'd in Perſon to make an Expedition into *Bulgaria*, affirming, *It was a Shame for him to ſuffer any Part of the Empire to be torn from it, who during his whole Reign had added nothing to it*: But his Dropſie had now ſo far prevail'd upon him, that his Friends adviſ'd him to deſiſt from it, and truſt the Expedition to the Management of ſome other, which however ſerv'd only to quicken him, and make him more earneſt in his Preparations; ſo that being enter'd into

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the Country, the *Bulgarians*, who were now without a Head to adviſe and command 'em, diſpers'd themſelves, and in a very ſhort time return'd to their Obedience, after which the Emperor return'd in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*; where perceiving, by the Prevalence of his Diſeaſe, that his Death approach'd, he diveſted himſelf of the Imperial Purple, caſt off all Cares of State, and, being ſhaven for a Monk, enter'd into a Monaſtery of his own Building, where he gave himſelf wholly up to Religious Exerciſes and Acts of Penitence, in which he appear'd very ſincere, devoutly lamenting his paſt Sins, eſpecially the Murder of *Romanus*. He continu'd in this Temper of Mind 'till Death put an end to his Devotions on the tenth Day of *December*, after he had reign'd ſeven Years and eight Months, *A. D.* 1041.

Michael quits the Empire, and turns Monk;

and dies.

As the Murder of *Romanus* ought to be charg'd upon *John*, rather than on *Michael*, who appears to have been naturally a religious and conſcientious Man, ſo muſt the Severities, with which his Reign is juſtly tax'd, be aſcrib'd to the ſame Inſtrument. It may properly be call'd the Reign of Eunuchs, ſince few or none were entruſted with the Management of Affairs but they; and certainly no Prince, who of himſelf had a tender regard to the Welfare of his Subjects, was ever ſerv'd with worſe Miniſters. As he was notorious for his great Sins of Adultery and Treaſon, ſo was he in as high a degree commendable for his exemplary Repentance, and is an Inſtance to us, that the greateſt Enjoyments upon Earth cannot ſoften the Stings of a guilty Conſcience.

Michael being dead the Empire devolv'd upon *Zoe*, who, finding the weight of Affairs too heavy for her to ſupport without an Aſſiſtant, was eaſily perſuaded to adorn *Michael Calaphates*, the late Emperor's Nephew, with the Imperial Purple. *Michael* had been created *Cæſar* by his Uncle, as has been before obſerv'd; and ſome affirm, that the Empreſs *Zoe* adopted him at the ſame time for her Son. At the time when

MICHAEL CALAPHATES. A. D. 1041.

when the late Emperor withdrew into the Monastery he was absent, having receiv'd Orders from his Uncle, who seem'd to repent of what he had done in his Behalf, not to come near the Court, or the Imperial City, without leave first obtain'd for that purpose. But *Michael* having resign'd the Purple, his Brother sent immediately for the Nephew to return; and he, by an artful Management, so far insinuated himself into *Zoe*'s good Opinion, that she listen'd to the Advice of those who persuaded her to make him Emperor; tho' for her own Security she first remov'd *John* and his Brother, together with such others as had appear'd the most active against her in the late Reign.

Calaphates made Emperor.

The World expected mighty Advantages from this Advancement of *Michael*; for he had the Reputation of an active industrious Man, but he quickly deceiv'd the Hopes his Subjects had conceiv'd of him, and prov'd a cruel, ungrateful, and degenerate Prince. His first Proceedings were against those of his own Family; for tho' at first he seem'd to listen to the Advice of his Uncle *John*, notwithstanding he had been remov'd by *Zoe*, yet in the end, after he had affronted him several times in a very high manner, he sent him into Banishment; he acted with the same Severity against his other Relations, causing both Husbands and Fathers to be made Eunuchs, without any Regard had to their Age or Circumstances. Only his Uncle *Constantine* he recall'd with *Zoe*'s leave, and communicated all his Councils to him, and was directed by him. This unnatural Behaviour to his own Family could be exceeded by nothing but his Ingratitude to *Zoe*, whom he reduc'd to a private State, pretending she was guilty of Witchcraft and Sorcery, and that she had attempted to take away his Life.

who deposes Zoe;

Tho' he thought, by these plausible Suggestions, to satisfie the Minds of the People, yet they having a great Veneration for *Zoe*, upon the Account of her high

high Birth, and judging the Empire juſtly deſcended to her by Hereditary Right, were generally diſcontented; and obſerving *Michael* wallow'd in his ſenſual Pleaſures, without any regard to the high Dignity he bore, they broke out into a general Sedition, and reſolv'd every Man to venture his Life in the Vindication of her, who they thought was us'd unworthily. *Michael*, the ſame time that he remov'd *Zoe*, threaten'd to depoſe *Alexius* the Patriarch, as conſenting to her Deſigns, who, as ſoon as he was inform'd of it, fled into the Great Church, whither all the old Eunuchs and other Officers that had ſerv'd under *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* repair'd, where, with an unanimous Conſent, they ſent for *Theodora* out of the Monaſtery, where ſhe had been confin'd, and in the Church ſaluted her Empreſs, together with her Siſter *Zoe*; whilſt *Michael*, obſerving how reſolutely the People were bent againſt him, withdrew with his Brother into a Monaſtery, where they both took the Religious Habit, thinking thereby to evade the Fury of the enrag'd Multitude, who notwithſtanding were all reſolv'd upon their Deaths; but the great Diſpute amongſt 'em was what manner of Deaths they ſhould die. Whilſt they were buſied in this Diſpute, *Zoe*, forgetting with how much Indignity ſhe had been us'd by the Family, and perhaps a little compaſſionate to a Creature of her own raiſing, mov'd for their Lives; but *Theodora*, reſenting her long Impriſonment, and eager to expreſs her Anger againſt the firſt Object that preſented it ſelf, at firſt adher'd to thoſe who were for nailing 'em to a Pole; and when ſhe found that Point could not be carry'd, ſhe mov'd that their Eyes might be pluck'd out, to which at length all agreed, and Orders were given to *Capanares*, Prefect of the City, to ſee it executed. When the unhappy Princes heard of the Meſſengers Approach, and to what purpoſe they were ſent, they withdrew into the moſt ſecret Parts of the Church, dedicated to the Memory of St. *John* the Baptiſt, from whence however the implacable Multitude dragg'd

and is himſelf depos'd.

dragg'd 'em, and pull'd their Eyes out in the *Forum Constantine* behav'd himself with a very even Temper, but *Michael*, with great Reluctancy and Lamentation, desir'd his Uncle, who had been the Author of all those Evils of which they complain'd, might first be punish'd for 'em, which was granted accordingly. After this *Michael* was banish'd with all his Relations, after a tumultuary Reign of something more than four Months.

Zoe, being thus reinstated in her Authority, remov'd all such as had been in greatest Trust with the late Tyrants, and preferr'd those who had serv'd her Father and her Uncle, or been disgrac'd by *John* during his Administration, amongst whom was *John Maniaces*, of whom mention has been made before, who had been clapp'd up in Prison during the late Administration, but was now made General of the Western Forces. Tho' Matters had herein been manag'd with the general Approbation of all, yet the State seem'd not perfectly settled in the Opinion of the People, 'till they had an Emperor to obey, who being lawfully marry'd to *Zoe* might put an end to all Competition, and have a Right to command over 'em. *Zoe* was as willing to marry as the People were to see her marry'd, so that after a Tryal of some others, who did not appear fit for her purpose, she made choice of *Constantinus Monomachus*, a Person of noble Extraction and beautiful Aspect. He had been banish'd during the Reign of *Michael* into the Island of *Lesbos*, either at the Instigation of *John* the Eunuch, or for that the Emperor mistrusted there was too great an Intimacy between him and the Empress; from *Lesbos*, *John* afterwards order'd him to be remov'd to *Metylene*, and from thence the Empress now sent for him, and first marry'd, and then had him crown'd Emperor by the Hands of the Patriarch. *Monomachus*, as soon as he was advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, endeavour'd by all means to oblige his Subjects, and ingratiate himself with the two Empresses. *John* the Eunuch he first

CONSTANTINUS MONOMACHUS.

confin'd

confin'd to *Lesbos*, and shortly after, either at the Instigation of *Theodora* the Empress, or out of Resentment for his own Confinement, he pluck'd out his Eyes, in a short time after which *John* dy'd.

Tho' *Constantine* had immediately upon his Advancement done all that he thought requisite for the Security of the State, and to render himself acceptable to his People, yet *George Maniaces*, at the beginning of his Reign, rais'd such a powerful Interest against him, as seem'd at first to threaten him with unavoidable Destruction. *Constantine* had had a Mistress, who had been a faithful Companion to him in all his Misfortunes, burning with an uncommon Passion towards him, and supplying him very liberally during his Exile; for being descended from the great *Sclerus* she was Mistress of a plentiful Fortune. The Emperor, who had been thus oblig'd by her, lov'd her with an equal Passion, and had not a more absolute Command over his Subjects, than she had over his Affections. She had a Brother whose Estate join'd to that of *Maniaces*, to whom he bore a mortal Hatred, and who at that time was employ'd in the Emperor's Affairs in *Italy*, where he signaliz'd himself by his many Services. During his Absence, *Sclerus*, depending upon the great Interest his Sister had in the Emperor, presum'd not only to injure his Estate, but lay with his Wife; and that he might be sure to give *Maniaces* a sufficient Provocation, got him to be remov'd from his Command, and to have it conferr'd upon a Fellow altogether unworthy so great a Trust. *Maniaces* was so enrag'd at these Proceedings, that having first secur'd the Forces under his Command to declare for him, and kill'd him who was design'd for his Successor, he assum'd the Imperial Ornaments, and was saluted Emperor. After which he pass'd over with his Army into *Bulgaria*, where he was join'd by great Multitudes of the Malecontents in that Country.

Maniaces usurps.

Monomachus, as soon as he was inform'd of this Rebellion, sent him Letters, in which he offer'd him and his Followers an Indemnity and Pardon for what was past, together with several considerable Rewards, provided they would lay down their Arms, and return to their Obedience. But when he found that *Maniaces*, who was animated more by the Spirit of Revenge than Ambition, would listen to no Terms, but continu'd fix'd in his Resolution, he sent *Stephen Sebastophorus* at the Head of a very powerful Army against him, which was defeated, and totally broken at the first Engagement; whereupon *Maniaces* was universally acknowledg'd Emperor in the Field, and had, in all Probability, given *Monomachus* a great deal of Trouble, had he not fallen suddenly dead from his Horse, having receiv'd a Mortal Wound in his Breast from some unknown Hand. The Death of *Maniaces* put an end to the Rebellion, and all they of his Followers, who had been the most forward in it, were now the first that threw down their Arms, and return'd to their Obedience. They revil'd *Maniaces* as a Traitor, and having cut off his Head presented it to *Stephen* the Emperor's General, who, tho' he had receiv'd a Defeat, yet had the Honour of a Triumph granted him at his Return to *Constantinople*.

The Troubles that this Civil War created were hardly compos'd, before the *Russians*, who had for several Years together maintain'd a peaceable Correspondence with the Emperor, broke the League, and threaten'd the City of *Constantinople* it self. But the Emperor, having first, by repeated Messengers, offer'd 'em fair Conditions of Peace, which they arrogantly rejected, mann'd a strong Fleet out against 'em, and fought 'em in the *Straits* about *Pharos*, where he obtain'd a compleat Victory over 'em, and in the End forc'd 'em to renew the Truce they had so injuriously broken.

The Russians *overthrown.*

Monomachus after this turn'd his Arms into the East, where he recover'd several Cities to the Empire, that the

the Connivance or Weakness of his Predecessors had suffer'd to be torn from it; and was pursuing the War with much Application and Success, when *Leo Tornicius*, who had been formerly Governor of *Iberia*, and was nearly related to the Emperor, escap'd out of a Monastery to which he had been confin'd, and assum'd the Imperial Purple. *Leo* was a Man of excellent Parts, and a very beautiful Aspect, which gain'd him the Love of all those who convers'd with him, especially of the *Macedonians*, among whom he had formerly resided; and there having been a Prophecy publish'd abroad, which promis'd he in time should be Emperor, the Expectations of most Men hung upon him. This made the Emperor view him with a jealous Eye, and when some People had undertaken to accuse him for some unwarrantable Proceedings in the Government of *Iberia*, *Monomachus* embrac'd the Opportunity; and having divested him of his Command, had him shav'd, and constrain'd him to turn Monk. Notwithstanding which a Party of *Macedonians* took him one Night out of the Monastery, and conducted him to *Adrianople*, where, when by an unanimous Acclamation he had been saluted Emperor, he prepar'd to make good his Title, and march'd at the Head of a numerous Party towards *Constantinople* it self. *Monomachus* had lately, by some unpopular Act, very much disgusted the People, and *Leo* knew he was not very acceptable to the Soldiers, so that he thought he had great Reason to hope the Citizens would open the Gates at his first Appearance, and receive him; but, contrary to his Expectation, he was so vigorously oppos'd, that he ran a great hazard of his Life, and found that several of his Accomplices fell off from him, and made their Peace with the Emperor; wherefore fearing lest some of 'em might deliver him up into his Hands, he rais'd the Siege, and retreated to *Arcadiopolis*, where for some time he defended himself against the Forces the Emperor had sent to reduce him, but was at length taken, and sent

Leo Tornicius usurps.

and is suppress'd.

sent bound to *Monomachus*, who commanded his Eyes to be pluck'd out, and after that baniſh'd him.

A. D. 1048. This Inſurrection being ſo happily ſuppreſs'd almoſt in its Birth, a more fatal Storm began at that time to threaten the Empire, which in the end fell with an invincible Violence upon it, and cruſh'd it to pieces. For the *Turks*, who had lately ſettled themſelves in *Perſia*, where *Tangrolipix* their Captain was declar'd Sultan, began now to turn their Arms againſt the Empire. After the *Saracens* had by a wonderful Progreſs not only overturn'd the *Perſian* Empire, but had ſubdu'd *Media*, *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and a conſiderable Part of *Europe* it ſelf; this vaſt Empire was divided into ſeveral Parts, which were all govern'd by their reſpective Sultans or Commanders, who by degrees fell out among themſelves, and warr'd one with another. About the Year 1030 *Mahomet*, the Son of *Imbrael*, was Sultan of *Perſia*; and he finding *Piſaſiris*, the Sultan of *Babylon*, againſt whom he had declar'd War, too ſtrong for him, requir'd the Aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, who were then ſettled in *Armenia* Major, into which they had pierc'd thro' the *Caſpian Straits* in the Year 844, where they liv'd a poor and contemptible Nation, 'till theſe Wars in *Perſia* gave 'em an Opportunity of aggrandizing their Nation. For three thouſand of theſe *Turks* being thus call'd in by *Mahomet*, went to his Aſſiſtance under the Conduct of *Tangrolipix*, a Man deſcended from one of the Chief Families among 'em. *Mahomet*, being thus ſtrengthen'd by theſe Auxiliary Supplies, obtain'd an eaſie Conqueſt over the *Babylonians*; but when the *Turks*, who had now done the Buſineſs for which they came, requir'd their Wages, and leave to return home, he having a Mind to employ 'em longer againſt the *Indians*, with whom he was likewiſe at War, refus'd to let 'em go, and threaten'd to puniſh 'em if they inſiſted upon it. The *Turks*, being juſtly provok'd at this Uſage, revolted from him, and withdrew into the Wilderneſs of *Carbonitis*, where ſeveral

The Turks conquer Perſia:

diſ-

discontented *Persians* united themselves to 'em. *Mahomet* immediately sent an Army of twenty thousand Men against 'em, which *Tangrolipix* defeated; and having taken their Camp found many Chariots and Horses, and good store of Money in it, with which he was enabled to pursue the War, and encourage such as would declare for him; by which means his Army was in a short time encreas'd to fifty thousand Men.

Mahomet was so enrag'd at the Defeat of his Forces, that he put out the Eyes of those that commanded 'em, and threaten'd the Soldiers that escap'd to cloath 'em like Women, and ignominiously to expose 'em. At the same time he rais'd a very numerous Army, with which he encounter'd *Tangrolipix* near *Ispahan*, but fell off his Horse as he was riding about to animate his Soldiers, and broke his Neck; whereupon both Armies, with a joint Consent, declar'd *Tangrolipix* King of *Persia*, and of all the late Sultan's Dominions. *Of which Tangrolipix is declar'd Sultan;*

Tangrolipix, being thus promoted, open'd the Passage for the rest of his Countrymen, who in prodigious Multitudes flock'd over the *Araxes*, a River that divided *Persia* from *Armenia*, over which was a large Bridge defended by a Fort, which was now remov'd by *Tangrolipix*, that they might pass over with greater Security. After this he began to enlarge his Dominions, and having slain *Pisasiris*, the Caliph of *Babylon*, he sent his Nephew *Cutlu-Moses*, or *Cuthimuses*, against the *Arabians*, by whom he was overthrown, and in his Flight desir'd *Stephen*, the Emperor's Governor in *Media*, to grant him a Passage through that Country, which he indiscreetly deny'd, tho' he was in no Condition to oppose him should he force his Way through, which he presently after did; and having taking *Stephen* Prisoner he sold him for a Slave. Returning to the Sultan he endeavour'd to excuse the Blow he had receiv'd from the *Arabians*; and that he might make it appear that his Expedition was not altogether fruitless, he acquainted him with the Discoveries he had

made in *Media*, the Fertility of the Country, and how eaſily it might be conquer'd, it being inhabited by none but Women, for ſuch he thought thoſe with whom he lately fought.

Tho' *Tangrolipix* was too much incens'd againſt him for the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd in *Arabia*, to give any open Credit to his Information, yet after he had been defeated himſelf in a ſecond Engagement with the *Arabians*, he began to reflect on what his Nephew had told him; and ſent *Aſan*, his Brother's Son, with an Army of about twenty thouſand Men to conquer *Media*, which *Aſan* enter'd, and miſerably deſtroy'd, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, but ſuffer'd himſelf at laſt to be over-reach'd by the *Roman* Generals, who lay in Ambuſh for him, and cut him and the greateſt part of the Army in Pieces, whilſt they were buſie in plundering the Camp, which the *Romans* had quitted on purpoſe to enſnare 'em.

who invades Media.

Tangrolipix, rather enrag'd than diſcourag'd at this Misfortune, rais'd an Army of near one hundred thouſand Men, which he committed to the Conduct of *Abram Alim*, his half Brother; they who commanded for the Emperor in *Media*, thought it adviſeable not to run the hazard of a Battel againſt ſuch a Multitude, but rather to fortifie ſuch Places as ſeem'd the fitteſt to be maintain'd, and ſecure their beſt Effects within the Walls, 'till they had ſent to the Emperor for more Force, and were able upon more equal Terms to offer the Enemy Battel. In the mean time the *Turks* ravag'd the Country without any Oppoſition, and laying Siege to *Artze*, an open Town, inhabited by great Numbers of Merchants and Tradeſmen, and upon that Account eſteem'd the wealthieſt of any in thoſe Parts; they met with ſo great an Oppoſition from the Inhabitants, who for ſome time made good their want of Walls by their great Numbers and extraordinary Courage, that the *Turks*, who did not expect to meet with ſo great a Reſiſtance from a Village, the Wealth of which they vehemently thirſted after, reſolv'd to deſtroy

deſtroy what they could not get, and ſo ſet it on Fire, and forc'd out the Inhabitants, of whom one hundred and fifty thouſand are ſaid to have periſh'd, partly by the Sword, and partly by the Fire, into which many are reported voluntarily to have caſt themſelves. The *Turks* found among the Ruins much Silver, and other things of great Value that were not Combuſtible. After this they rov'd up and down the Country without obſerving any Order, in which Condition two of the *Roman* Generals, whom the Emperor had lately ſtrengthen'd with freſh Supplies, thought it adviſeable to fall upon 'em, but were therein oppos'd by *Liparites*, Prince or Governor of part of *Iberia*, who commanded likewiſe for *Monomachus*; the Reaſon he would have declin'd fighting was, becauſe it was on *Saturday*, which he reckon'd amongſt the unlucky Days. But *Abram*, the General of the *Turks*, and half Brother to *Tangrolipix*, being inform'd by his Scouts in what Condition the Enemy lay, and underſtanding the Difference there was between their Generals, march'd up in a regular Order, and offer'd 'em Battel, of which they were in a manner oblig'd to accept, and ſo prepar'd to receive 'em. The Fight was obſtinate on both ſides, but at length the Fortune of the Day fell to the *Romans*; who however having loſt *Liparites*, who engaging too far in the Heat of the Action, and enrag'd for the Loſs of a Kinſman ſlain by the *Turks*, was taken Priſoner, thought not fit to purſue the Victory, but retir'd; and *Abram* on the other ſide, being very proud of his Priſoner, ſent him away to the Sultan, who ſeem'd outwardly pleas'd at his Brother's good Fortune, but was inwardly jealous of his Succeſs, for which reaſon he ſhortly after forc'd him to rebel againſt him; and having overthrown him in a Battel, took him Priſoner, and put him to Death.

A. D. 1049.

The Romans *defeat the* Turks,

who take Liparites *Priſoner*;

In the mean time the Emperor, who was highly concern'd at the Captivity of *Liparites*, ſent an Ambaſſador with rich Preſents to *Tangrolipix*, on purpoſe

to redeem *Liparites*, and enter into a Peace and Alliance with the Sultan; who receiv'd the Preſents, but reſtor'd 'em back to *Liparites*, whom he generouſly releas'd, and at his Departure advis'd him to remember how much he ow'd him, and for that Reaſon never more to bear Arms againſt the *Turks*. At the ſame time he ſent the *Xeriph*, a Man of principal Authority among the *Turks*, his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; where having, in a long Speech, magnify'd the great Power and Authority of his Maſter, he arrogantly demanded of the Emperor to become his Tributary, upon which Condition he had Power to conclude a perpetual Peace with him. This inſolent Demand was rejected with much Scorn by the Emperor, and the Ambaſſador diſmiſs'd; who, upon his Return to *Tangrolipix*, gave him ſuch an Account of his Reception as highly incens'd him againſt the Emperor, on whom he prepar'd to be reveng'd. *Monomachus*, on the other Hand, being ſenſible of what he was to expect from the *Turks*, made the beſt Preparations he could to oppoſe 'em, when a War ſuddenly broke out between *Monomachus* and the *Patzinace*, a People of *Scythia*, which brought the Empire into manifeſt Danger. *Tyrach* was then Prince of that People, and being a Man of noble Extraction, tho' otherwiſe abandon'd to Sloth and Inactivity, he was highly reverenc'd by his Subjects; among whom was one *Kegenes*, who was born of obſcure Parents, but had acquir'd a great Reputation in the Wars, which he manag'd with much Succeſs againſt the neighbouring Nations, whilſt *Tyrach* liv'd idle and inglorious at home. He obſerving how much *Kegenes* was admir'd by the People, naturally fierce and addicted to War, grew jealous of him, and reſolv'd to move ſo dangerous a Competitor out of the Way; of which *Kegenes* having timely Intimation, he made his Eſcape into the Fens of the River *Boryſthenes*, or *Nieper*, where all his own Tribes (for that Nation was divided into ſeveral *Clans*, or Tribes) and one more

who is releas'd without Ranſom by the Sultan.

more join'd with him, and revolted from *Tyrach*, who march'd at the Head of a numerous Army againſt him, and defeated him; after which *Kegenes* thought it the ſafeſt way for him to throw himſelf into the Emperor's Protection; accordingly he ſent to *Michael*, who commanded for the Emperor in thoſe Parts, and acquainted him with his Deſign, and undertook to do his Maſter conſiderable Services. *Michael*, having communicated his Deſires to the Emperor, receiv'd Orders from him to entertain him courteouſly, to provide his Men, amounting to twenty thouſand in Number, with all Neceſſaries, and ſend him to *Conſtantinople*, where he was honour'd with the Dignity of a Patrician, and receiv'd Baptiſm, engaging for his Countrymen, that they likewiſe ſhould turn Chriſtians, which they accordingly did, and had three Caſtles aſſign'd 'em, with large Territories upon the Banks of the *Iſter*, from whence they made frequent Incurſions into *Tyrach*'s Dominions, and ſold the Women and Children to the *Romans*. *Tyrach*, provok'd at theſe Proceedings, ſent to expoſtulate with the Emperor, for that the *Patzinace* being Friends and Allies to the Emperor, he had receiv'd their Fugitives, and threaten'd to denounce War againſt him, if he any more countenanc'd or aſſiſted *Kegenes* in his Depredations. The Emperor receiv'd the Ambaſſadors very diſdainfully, laughing at their Meſſage, and ſuffer'd 'em to depart without vouchſafing 'em an Anſwer. He gave Orders to *Michael* and *Kegenes* to be upon their Guard, and ſent an hundred Gallies to cruiſe up and down on the *Iſter* to prevent a Deſcent, if the *Scythians* ſhould attempt it. Notwithſtanding which Precaution *Tyrach* took the Advantage of a Froſt, when the River was cover'd with Ice of a convenient thickneſs, and paſs'd over with no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Men, who broke like an irreſiſtible Torrent into the *Roman* Provinces. Tho' the Emperor ſent all the Forces quarter'd in *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria*, under the Conduct of *Conſtan-*

The Scythians break into the Empire.

Constantinus Arianites, with Orders to join *Michael* and *Kegenes*, and oppose the *Bulgarians*; yet, in all probability, their Numbers had prevail'd, had not the *Scythians* drunk too immoderately of Wine, and other Liquors of which they had never tasted before, which threw 'em into Distempers that swept off great Multitudes every Day. Of which when *Kegenes*, who very well knew the Temper of his Countrymen, was inform'd, he advis'd the *Romans* to fall suddenly upon 'em; which was done with so much Resolution, that the *Barbarians* weaken'd by Sickness, and terrify'd at so sudden an Onset, threw down their Arms, and cry'd for Quarter; which was allow'd to all but such as fell into *Kegenes* his Hands, who, like a true Renegade, kill'd all those who were not able to buy their Lives with a vast Sum of Money. The rest were by *Basilius*, the Governor of *Bulgaria*, disarm'd and dispers'd through the Plains of *Sardica*, *Naisus*, and *Eutzapelus*; only *Tyrach*, and one hundred and forty of the most noble among 'em were sent to *Constantinople*, where they were kindly receiv'd by *Monomachus*; who, having first persuaded 'em to embrace the Christian Religion, conferr'd such Honours and Wealth upon 'em, as rais'd 'em to an higher degree of Happiness than they had ever tasted before.

Thus for the present was an end put to this War, which notwithstanding broke out shortly after with more Fury than ever; for when *Tangrolipix*, offended at the Reception of his Ambassador, had gather'd all his Forces together out of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and other Provinces, in order to renew the War; *Monomachus*, besides his other Preparations, arm'd fifteen thousand of these *Scythians*, and sent four of those, who resided at *Constantinople*, to command 'em and conduct 'em into *Iberia*. These, being thus arm'd, march'd chearfully as far as *Melitene*, the Metropolis of *Armenia Minor*; but as they proceeded on farther they began to reflect on the Service that was impos'd upon 'em, and by the Advice of *Catalunes*, one of their Officers,

Officers, they reſolv'd to return back to their Country-men; where, when they were arriv'd, they arm'd their Companions, and removing to the Plains lying upon the *Iſter*, from thence they made Incurſions into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, and grievouſly moleſted the Subjects of the Empire. Hereupon the Emperor ſent for *Kegenes* to conſult with him, what Methods were the moſt proper to ſuppreſs 'em. *Kegenes* came at the Head of a ſtrong Party, and encamp'd in a Plain near the Imperial City, where three of his Countrymen endeavour'd to aſſaſſinate him one Night as he lay in his Tent, but his Guards coming timely to his Aſſiſtance, they had only time to give him a ſlight Wound; for as they were preparing to ſecond their Blow they were ſeiz'd, and, without ſuffering themſelves to be examin'd upon the Spot, appeal'd to the Emperor. Hereupon *Kegenes* was conducted in a Chariot into the City, and the three Aſſaſſines were led bound after him. When he was brought before the Emperor, *Monomachus* ask'd *Baltzar*, the Son of *Kegenes*, why they had not put the Villains immediately to Death; and he replying, *That it was becauſe they had appeal'd to him*; the jealous Emperor ſuſpected ſome Treachery, and ſent immediately for the Men, who being ask'd for what reaſon they attempted to murder their Leader, they affirm'd with much Aſſurance, *That they undertook it for his Sake, and the Safety of the City, which* Kegenes *had a Deſign to have enter'd early the next Morning; and having plunder'd it, to have return'd with the rich Booty into his own Country.*

The Scythian *War renew'd.*

The Emperor, without any farther Inquiſition, gave Credit to this improbable and ill-grounded Accuſation; wherefore, having firſt order'd thoſe Villains to be ſet at Liberty, he commanded *Kegenes* to be remov'd to Court, under a Pretence of having his Wound cur'd with greater Care, and himſelf more diligently attended; there he kept him immur'd cloſe up, and ſeparated his Sons one from the other. At the

the ſame time he ſhew'd great Kindneſs to his Men, giving 'em large Allowances of Proviſion, but deſign'd by degrees to diſarm 'em, and impriſon thoſe whom he apprehended to be the moſt dangerous among 'em. Tho' this Deſign was manag'd with the greateſt Secrecy, yet the *Scythians*, who ſeem'd outwardly well pleas'd with their Uſage, and promis'd an entire Submiſſion and Obedience, had Intimation of the Thing, and broke up by Night from their Camp, and by long Marches got the third Day over the Mountain *Hæmus*, and join'd with their Countrymen, who being thus united, and having plenty of Arms among them, came almoſt as far as the City of *Adrianople*, and waſted all the Country round about. *Conſtantinus Areianites*, the General of the Weſtern Forces, was then in that City; and having engag'd 'em near a Fort call'd *Dampolis* was defeated, and forc'd to retire with a conſiderable Loſs. Whereupon the Emperor was adviſ'd to ſend *Tyrach*, and the other *Scythians* reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, to pacifie and compoſe their Nation. Theſe Perſons having been oblig'd by rich Preſents from *Monomachus*, engag'd themſelves by Oath to the Performance of it; but being diſmiſs'd, and having join'd the reſt of their Countrymen, they were ſo far from accompliſhing what they had ſo ſolemnly undertaken, that they conſpir'd with 'em, and diſcover'd all the Deſigns that were forming againſt 'em. *Monomachus*, as ſoon as he was inform'd of this Defection, ſent for all the Eaſtern Forces to join the reſt, and march againſt the *Barbarians*; who, notwithſtanding the whole Strength of the Empire ſeem'd engag'd againſt 'em, had the Advantage in ſeveral Engagements, and obtain'd ſome conſiderable Victories, which was chiefly to be attributed to the Raſhneſs, Ignorance, and Indiſcretion of the Generals that were ſent againſt 'em. This Succeſs made 'em more Daring, Cruel, and Outragious than ever: Having conceiv'd a thorough Contempt of the *Romans*, they laid all waſte before 'em in

Thrace

Thrace and *Macedonia*, sparing neither Age nor Sex, but murdering even Infants as they hung at the Breast. In this Confidence of their own Strength, some of 'em presum'd to approach *Constantinople* it self, but were severely chastis'd for their Presumption; for the Emperor sent out against 'em a strong Party chosen out of his own Guard, under the Command of *John* the Patrician, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Empress, who fell on 'em by Night, as they were drunk and sleepy; and having made a great Slaughter of 'em, cut off their Heads, and sent 'em in Cart-loads up to *Monomachus*.

By this time the Emperor began to reflect on his partial and imprudent Behaviour to *Kegenes*, whom therefore he releas'd out of Prison; and upon his engaging to divert 'em from their outrageous Courses, he dismiss'd him to 'em. As he drew near he sent to inform 'em of his Approach, and upon what Errand he was come; they answer'd, and confirm'd their Answer by Oath, that they were ready to submit to him, and be govern'd and directed by his Will; but as soon as they got him into their Power they cut him to pieces, and thereby assur'd the Emperor they would listen to no Terms of Accommodation. Thus the War was continu'd on both sides for several Years together, during which the Imperialists had most commonly the Disadvantage; but the *Scythians* being at length inform'd, that the Emperor was making such mighty Preparations, as if he seem'd resolv'd to root 'em, if possible, out of the Earth; they were terrify'd at the approaching Storm, and sent to desire Peace from *Monomachus*, who, after several Difficulties, condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

Monomachus *his Profuseness ruins the Empire.*

Tho' this War, which had been long, bloody, and expensive, was in the End brought to an happy Conclusion, yet was *Monomachus* surrounded with other Difficulties, from which he found it impossible to extricate himself. For whereas the Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and deliberate, he liv'd

at

at ſo profuſe and expenſive a rate, that he was forc'd to charge his Subjects with ſeveral illegal and unreaſonable Impoſitions; which made him hated, and contemn'd at home, whilſt the *Turks* enlarg'd their Conqueſts, and grievouſly infeſted the Provinces abroad. And here it may be obſerv'd, that this Emperor was, in a great meaſure, guilty of the Decay and Ruin of the Eaſtern Empire; for whereas all the Provinces upon the Borders were uſually exempted from paying Tribute, becauſe they undertook to maintain ſo many Soldiers as were ſufficient to guard the *Roman* Pale, and ſecure it from the Incurſions of the Barbarians, he disbanded thoſe Soldiers, and diſſolv'd the Garriſons in thoſe Parts, eſpecially the Army in *Iberia*, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand Men, and ſerv'd as a Barrier againſt the *Turks*, that he might have a Pretence to raiſe a Revenue out of that Country. An Act of ſuch pernicious Conſequence, as might brand him with Infamy to all Poſterity, and render him a dreadful Warning to all profuſe and inconſiderate Princes.

The Succeſs of the Turkiſh Arms in Iberia.

However the Emperor, having thus concluded a Peace with the *Scythians*, was at leiſure to obſerve the Progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Army in *Iberia*. The Sultan, affronted at the Reception of his Ambaſſador, as has been before obſerv'd, enter'd with all his Forces into that Country; the Inhabitants of which had ſecur'd themſelves and their moſt valuable Effects in their ſtrong Towns, of which there was great Plenty in thoſe Parts; ſo that hearing the Emperor was preparing a very powerful Army at *Cæſarea*, which was to be ſent againſt him, he return'd with great Indignation into *Media*; where finding the People, who had notice of his Approach, had diſpos'd of themſelves and their Wealth in the ſame manner thoſe in *Iberia* had done; he reſolv'd to attack ſome of the Garriſons, and accordingly ſate down before *Mantzichierta*, a Town ſituate in an open Country, but fortify'd with a triple Wall and deep Ditches. The Situ-

ation

ation of this Place made him hope to be Master of it in a short time; but finding, after he had ply'd it warmly for thirty Days together, that *Basilius* the Governor, and the rest of the Christians that were in it, were resolv'd to defend it to the utmost; he began to despair of Success, and was about to have rais'd the Siege, when *Alcan*, one of his General Officers, prevail'd with him to defer it for one Day longer, and trust the Disposition of the Attacks to his Management. This being granted him, he divided the Army next Day into two Parts, one of which he order'd to gall the Besieg'd with their Arrows from a rising Ground that fronted the Eastern Gate, where the Wall seem'd lower, whilst he led the other on to the Assault, which was directed with great Bravery on the one side, and oppos'd with an equal Resolution on the other. For the Besieg'd pour'd Clouds of Arrows, Darts, and Stones upon the Assailants, of whom great Numbers were slain, and amongst the rest *Alcan* himself, who, being known by the richness of his Armour, was drawn by the Hair of his Head into the City, and his Head being instantly cut off, was thrown over the Wall among the *Turks*. Whereupon the Sultan, who, being attended by his chief Officers, had beheld all from an adjacent Eminence, broke up the Siege, pretending some urgent Affairs had call'd him home, but threaten'd to return with greater Forces the Spring following; which he did some time after in Pursuit of his Cousin *Cutlu-Moses*, of whom mention has been made already, who fled into *Arabia*, leaving *Tangrolipix* to waste and ravage *Iberia*, 'till the Approach of *Michael Acoluthus*, who was sent out of the West to repress him, and who, by the Measures he took, threaten'd to force him to a Battel, and oblig'd him to retire with the main Body of his Army to *Tauris*; however he left three thousand *Turks* behind him with Orders to infest the Frontiers of the Empire, which they did afterwards with much Ease, for that

Mono-

Monomachus had left an Example to his Succeſſors, which they obſerv'd with too much exactneſs, through Sloth and Covetouſneſs ſuffering their Dominions to be torn piece-meal from 'em, as we ſhall have melancholy Occaſion enough to obſerve in the purſuit of this Hiſtory.

The Death of Zoe the Empreſs.

The Death of the Empreſs *Zoe* follow'd ſoon after, the Loſs of whom *Monomachus* at firſt lamented with an unmanly Paſſion, abſtaining from all Company, and comparing her to the Angels above; but ſhortly after addreſs'd himſelf with as much Gallantry as the Gout had left him to another Lady, the Daughter of an *Alan* Prince, who then lay as an Hoſtage at *Conſtantinople*. This Lady was brought into the Palace, ſaluted *Auguſta*, and had he not been reſtrain'd by the Reſpect he bore *Theodora*, and the Infamy of a fourth Marriage, he had, in all probability, marry'd and declar'd her Empreſs; but, whatever he intended, Death in a little time after put an end to that, and all his other Deſigns; for the Gout, which ſome time before had ſeiz'd on his Limbs, being increas'd by his Intemperance, at length prevail'd inwardly, and left him time enough to conſult about, but not to declare or confirm his Succeſſor.

A. D. 1054. Tho' he had hitherto expreſs'd a great Eſteem and Reſpect for *Theodora*, yet either for that he thought the Management of Publick Affairs too weighty for a Woman's Shoulders, or elſe, being induc'd to it by the earneſt Perſuaſions of ſome about him, eſpecially of *John* the Eunuch, a deſpicable unworthy Wretch, who had other Deſigns in view, he deſign'd *Nicephorus*, who commanded the Forces of the Empire in *Bulgaria*, to ſucceed him; the Buſineſs was manag'd with much Caution and Secrecy, and *Nicephorus* ſent for without the Knowledge, as 'twas thought, of *Theodora*, who however receiv'd an Account of all their Tranſactions; and leaving the Emperor in the new Monaſtery of St. *George*, which he had built in *Mangana*, ſhe went, attended by her moſt faithful Friends,

to *Constantinople*, where, in the great Palace, she was proclaim'd and saluted Empress; the News whereof being brought to *Monomachus* exasperated his Distemper, and left him no other Power than to testifie, by a deep Sigh, his Dislike of it, with which he ended his Days, after he had reign'd twelve Years and eight Months, or something more. Monomachus *dies, and* Theodora *is declar'd* Empress.

Of this Emperor it made be said, that during his Reign, Fortune, by turns, smil'd and frown'd upon him; for as in his Time the *Turks*, through his natural Laziness, or want of Money, grew exceeding powerful in *Asia*, and extreamly harass'd the Territories of the Empire, so had he the good Luck to suppress all such as rebell'd against him at home. The best Quality he had was his Charity, for he daily relieved the Poor, and built an Hospital for Old Men, whom Age had render'd incapable of getting their own Subsistance; his many ill ones the Reader will find in the Account we have already given of him. Some say, that both he and *Zoe* dy'd of the Plague, which indeed rag'd so violently at that time in the City, that he Quick were hardly sufficient to bury the Dead; however the best Authors agree, that he dy'd of the Gout, aggravated by his great Intemperance to Women, in the sixteenth Year of *Henry* the Third Emperor in the West, and the last of *John* the Twentieth Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 1054.

Theodora, having thus receiv'd the Imperial Crown, which she challeng'd as well by Virtue of an Hereditary Right, as the Consent and Approbation of the People, took Care first to chastise such as had propos'd and attempted the Promotion of *Nicephorus*, whose Estates were all confiscated, and their Persons banish'd. She depriv'd *Isaacius Comnenus* of his Command in the East, and banish'd *Bryennius* a *Macedonian*, whom *Monomachus* had sent at the Head of his Countrymen against the *Turks*, because, upon the Death of that Emperor, he had remov'd with the *Macedonians* under his Command, Theodora's *Management.*

without waiting for her Orders, to *Chrysopolis*. *Theodore*, the Eunuch was sent General into the East, where he fought with some Success against the *Turks*, who, upon the Report of *Monomachus* his Death, prepar'd for new Attempts against the Empire. The prudent Choice of her Great Officers and Ministers of State made the Management of Affairs easie to her, and agreeable to her People. But well grown in Years she was advis'd to chuse some fit Person to be her Assistant, and declare him Emperor, which she rejected with a manly Resolution, and sate constantly upon the Bench her self, gave Audience to Ambassadors, created Magistrates, and interpos'd her Opinion and Resolution in all Matters relating to the State, as well publick as private. In this manner she rul'd with great Applause for almost two Years, during which her Subjects enjoy'd a perfect Tranquility, so that they generally wish'd she had either been advanc'd sooner to the Imperial Dignity, or they might have enjoy'd her longer in it; but she was in the end seiz'd with an Iliack Passion, which ended her Days. As soon as her Physician began to despair of her Recovery, *Leo*, surnam'd *Straboſpondylus*, Chief Minister of State, and the Favourite Eunuchs, consulted on whom they might confer the Government, and continue entire to themselves the Power with which *Theodora* had entrusted 'em. After some Debates they made Choice of *Michael Stratioticus*, a Person old and decrepid, which together with his Ignorance in State Affairs, for he had from his Youth apply'd himself solely to the Wars, render'd him very unworthy of so Eminent a Station: However, judging him a Person fit for their Purpose, they first made him promise to do nothing without their Knowledge and Consent, and then persuaded *Theodora* to make him Emperor; which being done, she dy'd in the Month of *August*, after she had reigned one Year and nine Months, *A. D.* 1056.

MICHAEL STRATIOTICUS.

Theodora dies,

The Advancement of *Michael* was manag'd with so much Secrecy, and the Death of *Theodora* follow'd so immedi-

immediately upon it, that *Theodorus* the President, and Cousin German to *Monomachus*, knew nothing of it, 'till *Michael* was declar'd and acknowledg'd Emperor. At which being surpriz'd and incens'd, he summon'd all his Servants, Friends and Dependants to his Assistance, and mov'd in the Evening, with a great Train, through the publick Streets to the Palace, where he protested against what had been done in Favour of *Michael*, and laid claim to the Empire as of Right belonging to him, who was so nearly related to the late Emperor *Monomachus*. In the mean time the Prison Doors were broken open by his Order, and the Malefactors call'd out to his Assistance, so that a general Confusion and Tumult began to threaten the whole City; but the Eunuchs in the Palace having receiv'd the Alarm, prepar'd with great Vigour to suppress him both by Land and Water; which when he understood, he turn'd about, and went to the Great Church, where he hop'd to be receiv'd and own'd by the Patriarch and Clergy, who, contrary to his Expectations, shut the Doors against him, and refus'd to admit him. His last Refuge was the People, who, being generally fond of Innovations, did however in this Conjuncture continue firm in their Allegiance, and declar'd all for *Michael*. In this Condition, abandon'd by his Friends, who in great Numbers began to forsake him, and pursu'd by his Enemies whom he had justly provok'd against him, he fled in a disconsolate Condition with his Son, and took Sanctuary in the Church, from whence he was shortly after taken out, and banish'd to *Pergamus*, where he had time to reflect on his inconsiderate Undertaking, and laugh at the Vanities of the World.

upon which ensues a Commotion in the City.

After this *Michael* enjoy'd the Imperial Dignity without a Competitor, and in such things as were done by the Advice of those, who had been the Instruments of his Promotion, he acted very well; but whatever he did without their Advice, and in the Execution of which they were not so fully qualify'd, shew'd him

Michael's *Behaviour.*

a weak and unworthy Prince. But he betray'd himſelf in nothing ſo much as his Behaviour to the General Officers of the Army, who had been his Fellow-Soldiers under the late Reigns, and whom he ought to have regarded as his principal Support. Among theſe were *Iſaacius Comnenus*, and *Ambuſtus Cataealo*, Men renown'd for their great Services and Experience; the latter of theſe he remov'd from the Government of *Antioch*, and upon every Occaſion affronted *Comnenus*. He recall'd *Bryennius*, whom his Prdeceſſor had baniſh'd and ſent him into the Eaſt againſt the *Turks*; but when he deſir'd to have his Eſtate reſtor'd, which *Theodora* had taken from him, he gave him a ſurly Denial, and ſo prepar'd him to embrace the firſt Propoſal ſhould be offer'd to his Prejudice.

A Conſpiracy againſt him.

For when *Ambuſtus* and the other Officers had, by reiterated Affronts, been provok'd to conſpire againſt him, their Deſign was by *Ambuſtus* his Advice communicated to *Bryennius*, as one who was able to aſſiſt 'em with a powerful Army; and *Bryennius*, provok'd at the late Repulſe he had receiv'd from the Emperor, concurr'd very readily with them. Being thus, as they conceiv'd, prepar'd for a Revolt, they proceeded to the Choice of a new Emperor, and the Dignity fell, by a general Suffrage, upon *Ambuſtus*; but he, tho' a Man of exemplary Valour and Experience, excus'd himſelf upon the Account of his great Age, and propos'd *Iſaacius Comnenus* as the fitteſt Perſon they could promote, to which all unanimouſly aſſented; and having confirm'd their Choice by Oath, they all departed from *Conſtantinople*, where they met, as it was cuſtomary at *Eaſter* to receive the Emperor's Bounty, to their ſeveral Poſts, where each in his reſpective Station was to promote the general Deſign. Among the reſt *Bryennius* went to his Charge in the Eaſt, with whom *John Opſaras*, a Patrician, was ſent to pay the Soldiers, the only Perſons to whom the indiſcreet Emperor was not Liberal and Munificent. At a general Muſter *Bryennius* would have had the Gold diſtributed as he

ISAACIUS COMNENUS.

thought

thought convenient, which *John* with great Obstinacy refus'd, alledging he would fully obey the Orders he had receiv'd from the Emperor; whereat *Bryennius* was so highly enrag'd that he fell upon him, and having first order'd him to be soundly beaten, committed him into Custody, and then made a Distribution of the Treasure according to his own Fancy. This Proceeding had like to have broken all the Measures of the Conspirators, for it happen'd at that time that *Lycanthes*, a Patrician, who was General of the *Lycaonians* and *Pysidians*, lay with all his Forces near the Army commanded by *Bryennius*; and being utterly ignorant of the Resolutions lately taken by the other Commanders in the East, concluded that no one could be guilty of so insolent and Arbitrary a Proceeding, but who aim'd at the Sovereignty, and therefore fell with all his Forces upon *Bryennius* his Camp, and having taken him Prisoner deliver'd him to *Opsaras*, whom he set at Liberty, and who, palliating his Revenge with a specious Pretence of Loyalty, pluck'd out his Eyes, and sent him with an Account of what had happen'd to the Emperor.

When the Chief Officers of the East, who were of the Conspiracy, had been inform'd of *Bryennius* his Misfortune, they began to apprehend, lest he, upon Examination, should reveal their Designs, and therefore chose rather to be in Action, tho' they were not as yet throughly ripe for it, than be oppress'd by the Emperor before they had leisure to declare themselves, and decide the Quarrel by the Dint of the Sword. Accordingly they forc'd *Comnenus* from his House in *Paphlagonia*, and having summon'd the Army together in a spacious Plain, he was there by universal Consent saluted Emperor, on the eighth of *June*, *A. D.* 1057. A. D. 1057. Isaacius Comnenus *declar'd Emperor by the Army*;

Comnenus, being thus declar'd Emperor, order'd first his Receivers to collect the Revenue and Contributions in the East, and then marching his Army over the River *Sangarius* in *Phrygia* Major, he proceeded

with slow Journies towards *Nice*, which he was the more willing to get into his Hands, because he judg'd it proper for a Receptacle upon all Occasions. The Soldiers that were quarter'd in it dislodg'd as soon as they heard of his Approach, and retir'd to their own Homes, to take Care of their respective Families during the publick Distractions. Some of the Officers fled with the News of this Revolt to *Stratioticus*, who, tho' he saw that almost all the Forces of the Empire were combin'd against him, yet he refus'd to offer any Conditions of Peace, and prepar'd for a vigorous Resistance. He sent immediately for all the Forces that lay quarter'd in the West, committing 'em to the Conduct of such *Macedonians* as were Persons of the greatest Quality and Experience in Warlike Affairs; and considering into what Dangers his late Behaviour had betray'd him, he now caress'd both the Officers and Soldiers, encouraging them with many Presents, and large Promises of future Rewards. Having muster'd his Army, he made Choice of *Theodorus*, Eunuch to the late Empress, and *Aaron Ducas*, a Man of great Experience, and Brother to *Comnenus's* Wife, for his Generals.

against whom Michael sends his Army.

These Generals march'd at the Head of their Forces to *Nicomedia*, and from thence sent to break down the Bridge of *Sangarius*, that *Comnenus* might not be able to retire back that way, but being forc'd to go about they might be sure to come up to him, so eager were they for an Engagement. *Comnenus*, on the other Hand, having strongly fortify'd *Nice*, and left all his Baggage and Carriages in that City, encamp'd at some distance from the Enemy, and offer'd 'em Battel. *Ambustus* had the Command of the Left Wing, and *Romanus Sclerus* of the Right, whilst he himself led the main Battel. At first *Aaron*, who led the Right Wing of the Emperor's Forces, seem'd to have the better, for he broke the opposite Wing, took *Romanus* Prisoner, and drove 'em back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtain'd an entire Victory,

Victory, had he not been too diffident of his Success; for the main Battel began to give Ground, and *Comnenus* had once Thoughts of flying away, and throwing himself into *Nice*, when he was inform'd that *Ambustas*, who had born down all before him, was pierc'd into the Enemy's Camp, which he had taken and plunder'd, at which both he and his Soldiers were so animated, that they charg'd with fresh Vigour, and gave the Emperor's Forces an entire Defeat; many were kill'd in the Pursuit, and several Officers of principal Note were taken Prisoners. When *Michael* was first inform'd of the Overthrow of his Forces, he was so surpriz'd, that had not some about him dissuaded him from it, he had sent and offer'd the Imperial Crown to *Comnenus*. At last several of the chiefest Senators were sent to treat with him, and in Conclusion it was agreed, that *Comnenus* should be adopted *Cæsar*, and all his Followers should receive a full Pardon and Indemnity; which was immediately ratify'd by the joyful Emperor, who promis'd to confirm all *Comnenus* his Officers in their Employments, and in a short time to resign the Administration of Affairs solely to his Conduct.

which are totally routed;

No Person in the Camp oppos'd this Agreement but *Ambustus*, who contended, with great Earnestness, *That* Stratioticus *should be depos'd*; that *they having depriv'd him, by a solemn Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit him to the Throne*; that *if they laid down their Arms*, Comnenus *would in the End be infallibly poison'd, and they punish'd with the Loss of their Eyes*. In this he was underhand encourag'd by the Senators themselves, who were sent to confirm the Agreement in Behalf of the Emperor. These Men represented to *Comnenus* the great Advantages he had over *Stratioticus*; how much the one was detested at *Constantinople*; how earnestly the other was desired there; how ready the People were to declare for him at his first Appearance, and how unable *Michael* was to oppose him.

Whilſt theſe things were thus agitating in the Camp, the unhappy Emperor himſelf made void that Agreement he had juſt ſent to have confirm'd, and partly by fair Words, and partly by Menaces, oblig'd both the Senate and the People to ſubſcribe a Writing, and take an Oath, with moſt direful Imprecations, never to give *Comnenus* the Title of Emperor, or own him for their Sovereign; which would have been a very unreaſonable Engagement, had he deſign'd him *Cæſar*. This Oath was exacted from 'em whilſt *Comnenus* was at a diſtance from the City, but being approach'd within leſs than a Day's Journey to *Conſtantinople*, they declar'd by common Conſent, *Comnenus* to be Emperor, and adjudg'd all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe him to loſe their Eſtates, and be declar'd Enemies to the *Roman* Empire. This being procur'd by the Patriarch, and decreed in the Church, he ſent Meſſengers to *Comnenus* to invite him to the City, and at the ſame time, by other Meſſengers, order'd *Stratioticus* to reſign, and depart from the Palace. At firſt he had behav'd himſelf with much Caution and ſeeming Fidelity to *Stratioticus*, but now he made it appear how much he had been from the Beginning concern'd in the Revolt. When the Biſhops that were ſent to *Stratioticus* deliver'd him their Meſſage, he demanded of 'em what the Patriarch would give him in Exchange for the Empire, and they anſwer'd, *The Kingdom of Heaven.* He diveſted himſelf of the Imperial Habit, and retir'd to his own Houſe in the Caſtle, after he had reign'd one Year, and *Comnenus* arriving in the ſame Evening, was the next Morning, being the firſt of *September*, crown'd in the great Church by the Hands of the Patriarch, and declar'd Emperor of the *Romans*.

and he forc'd to reſign.

Comnenus his Behaviour in the Empire.

Iſaacius Comnenus, having by theſe Means obtain'd the Empire, very liberally rewarded ſuch as had been aſſiſtant to him, particularly *Michael Cerularius* the Patriarch, whom he exceedingly reverenc'd, and highly preferr'd his Nephews; and whereas he had

rais'd

rais'd himself to the Empire by the Force of Arms, he immediately caus'd Money to be coin'd with his Image holding a Sword. He abrogated all the Acts of *Stratioticus* without Distinction, and rescinded those of many of his Predecessors; proceeding with an equal Severity to all, as well Senators as common People. At length he fell upon the Monasteries, from whom he took what the Liberality of former Princes had enrich'd 'em withal, and allow'd 'em no more than a bare Subsistance. These his Proceedings made him fear'd more than lov'd by his Subjects, among whom no one was found of Courage enough to blame or reprehend him, except the Patriarch; who presuming upon his great Authority with him, and the Services he had lately done him, was as insolent in his Reproofs, as boundless in his Demands, threatning, that unless he comply'd, to pull him down from the Throne, to which he had so lately exalted him; at which the haughty Emperor was so incens'd, that he immediately banish'd him; and having first extorted from him the Charter of Privileges and Immunities, granted by *Monomachus* to his Monastery of *Mangana*, he preferr'd *Constantinus Lichudes* to be Patriarch in his room.

The warlike Temper and resolute Behaviour of this Prince so far influenc'd the Councils of his Neighbours, that they attempted nothing memorable against him: For tho' the *Hungarians* and *Scythians* shew'd some Inclinations to a Rupture, yet upon his first Preparations they su'd for Peace; so that hardly any thing memorable happen'd during the short Reign of *Comnenus*, who in the End quitted the Empire, with a Resignation equal to the Resolution with which at first he assum'd it. One Day, whilst he was Hunting, he was blasted by a Wind or Lightning, which threw him into such a Distemper, that despairing of a Recovery, and conscious to himself of the unlawful Means by which he had obtain'd the Imperial Dignity, he made a voluntary Resignation, and retir'd into A. D. 1060.

His Resignation,

a Monastery, where he discharg'd the meanest Offices of the House, and spent the Remainder of his Days in continu'd Acts of Devotion and Contrition, having reign'd in all two Years and three Months.

and Character.

The Character left us of this Prince represents him as a Man of mix'd Qualities, in some Things very commendable, in others as much to be reprehended. He was by Nature Valiant, in his Disposition Arrogant, dextrous in the Dispatch of Business, and inflexible in any thing he had once resolv'd upon; he was exceeding skilful in Military Affairs, and tho' illiterate himself, yet he was a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men. When he was tax'd with his ambitious affecting the Empire, he reply'd, *That the Domination of a Fellow-Servant, who deny'd him his just Reward, was intolerable.* He is said to have been so exceeding Chaste, that falling ill once when he was from home, and his Physicians prescribing the Company of a Woman as a means to relieve him, he utterly refus'd to meddle with any other than his own Wife.

Before *Comnenus* resign'd the Empire he was advis'd to provide it with a Successor, in the Choice of whom he rather consulted the publick Safety of the State, than the private Interest of his own Family; for tho' he had several Children and near Relations of his own, yet he made Choice of *Constantinus Ducas*, who was esteem'd a Man very worthy so high a Dignity.

CONSTANTINUS DUCAS.

Ducas, being thus elected by *Comnenus*, and approv'd of by the People, was crown'd with great Solemnity at *Constantinople*; having formerly discharg'd the greatest Offices in the State with the general Approbation, he was esteem'd the fittest Man in the Empire for that high Dignity, tho' he afterwards appear'd, in the course of his Administration, subject to some Vices altogether unworthy of a Prince.

A. D. 1061.

He began his Reign with the Promotion of several Persons, who had appear'd the best affected to him in his private State, and the Restitution of others, whom the Severity of his Predecessor had depriv'd and excluded; not-

notwithstanding which he narrowly escap'd being oppress'd by a Conspiracy form'd against him by some of his most intimate Friends, which, being fortunately discover'd and suppress'd, he proceeded with no greater Severity against those who had ungratefully fomented it, than to a Confiscation of their Estates: After this he apply'd himself with great Diligence to the Affairs of State, and acted upon all Occasions with so much Justice and Moderation, that he had deserv'd to have been reckon'd among the good Princes, had not all his good Qualities been poison'd by an insatiate Covetousness, which betray'd him to the severe Reflections of his Subjects at home, and expos'd the Territories of the Empire to the Insults of the barbarous Nations abroad; for *Ducas* influenc'd by some Maxims that had lately seduc'd several of his Predecessors, out of a sordid and unseasonable Principle of good Husbandry, suffer'd the Frontiers to lye naked, and by that means gave the *Turks* an Opportunity of extending their Conquests, which they did on every side. To this chiefly may be attributed the Ruin of the Eastern Empire; for the Soldiers being thus neglected and unrewarded, grew remiss and unactive, and the Poison which might have been stopp'd in time, diffus'd it self by degrees, infected first the extream Parts, 'till at length it became invincible, and by an irresistible Progress in the End seiz'd on the Head. His usual Maxim was, By no means to begin a War, but if the Empire was threaten'd with one from abroad, he maintain'd it to be at least cheaper, tho' not so honourable, to court the *Barbarians* with Presents, and to buy a Peace, rather than to be at the Expence of Levies and Musters.

Ducas his Covetousness prejudicial to the Empire.

This Disposition in the Emperor, as it occasion'd the Loss of some Provinces in the East, so it encourag'd the *Uzians*, a *Scythian* People, to make a terrible Irruption into the Empire; for having taken *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who was afterwards Emperor, and *Basilius Apocapes* Prisoners; they pass'd the *Ister* to the

A. D. 1067.

Number

The Scythians invading the Empire, are defeated by the Hungarians.

Number of five hundred thouſand Men, and waſting all the Country thereabouts, march'd up into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Greece*, where they liv'd at Diſcretion, deſtroying all before 'em. Tho' the Emperor ſeem'd ſufficiently ſenſible of the Calamities of his Subjects, yet he made no Preparations to remove their Oppreſſors, but anſwer'd thoſe who earneſtly conjur'd him to it, *That it was impoſſible to repel 'em.* So that inſtead of marching at the Head of an Army againſt 'em, he endeavour'd to purchaſe a Peace by rich Preſents made to the Chief Officers, and a Promiſe of an Annual Tribute for the future. When he found that, notwithſtanding all this, they continu'd their Hoſtilities with more Barbarity than before; and being revil'd by his Subjects, as one that ſacrific'd the Empire to his own ſordid Temper and miſerable Covetouſneſs: In this Calamity he betook himſelf to Prayer, and order'd a general Faſt to be obſerv'd throughout his Dominions, after which he march'd out againſt 'em with no more than a handful of Men, as ſome have written, tho' others ſay his Army conſiſted of no leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand Men, which however was far inferior to the Number of the *Scythians*; who, being firſt exceedingly weaken'd by the Plague that had rag'd in a terrible manner among 'em, were ſuddenly ſet upon by the *Hungarians*, whoſe Territories they had waſted in their Paſſage into the Empire, and who cut 'em entirely off, and did the Emperor's Buſineſs for him without the Aſſiſtance of his own Army.

This was the moſt remarkable Action that happen'd during the Reign of this unactive Prince, towards the end of which many of the Churches and moſt magnificent Palaces at *Conſtantinople* were overthrown by an Earthquake, which was attended by a Comet following the Sun with its Tail directed to the Eaſt: It was ſeen by the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* for forty Days together, and ſerv'd to remind the Emperor of his approaching End; for having contracted a Diſeaſe, which

which by this time grew incurable, he apply'd his Thoughts to the Settlement of the Succeſſion in his Family. He had three Sons by the Empreſs *Eudocia*, whereof *Conſtantine* the youngeſt, being born after his Advancement to the Empire, had ſome time before been inveſted with the Imperial Ornaments, but now he caus'd his other two, *Michael Ducas* and *Andronicus*, to be declar'd Emperors, and left the Empire to 'em all; but conſidering they were young and incapable, he firſt requir'd an Oath from the Empreſs never to marry, which, being taken with great Solemnity, was lodg'd in the Hands of the Patriarch, and then appointed her to be Regent during the Minority of her Children. After this he exacted an Oath from all the Senators, that they would admit of none for Emperors but his Sons; and having, as he thought, by this means ſettled the Imperial Crown upon his Poſterity, he dy'd after a Reign of five Years and ſix Months, in the ſixtieth Year of his Age, in the fifth Indiction, *A. D.* 1067. *Ducas his Death,*

He was a Man of exemplary Piety and Juſtice, unleſs ſometimes he was biaſs'd by his Avarice, which made him in the Deciſion of Controverſies not always obſerve the Preſcript of Laws, but to determine contrary to Law, and with a Reſpect of Perſons. Tho' he was unlearn'd himſelf, yet he had a great Eſteem for learned Men, declaring often, That *it would have pleas'd him better to have been enobled by Learning than Sovereignty.* He proceeded with much Moderation againſt ſuch as conſpir'd againſt him: He was a great Lover of Plain-dealing, and Men of Integrity; and had it not been for his abominable Covetouſneſs, which reign'd predominant over all the reſt of his Qualities, he had undoubtedly enrich'd the Throne with many Royal Virtues. *and Character.*

Conſtantine was no ſooner dead, but the *Turks*, hearing the Management of Affairs was lodg'd in the Hands of a Woman, in Contempt of her Sex, and the tender Years of her Sons, fell with great Confidence into the Provinces of the Empire, waſting *Meſopotamia*, *The Turks renew their Incurſions into the Empire.*

Sopotamia, *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia* at pleasure; which being reported at *Constantinople* very much afflicted the Empress, who found her self in no Condition to oppose 'em. The greatest part of the Army had been disbanded in her Husband's Days, that which was on Foot was undisciplin'd and licentious; the People in general were dissatisfy'd, and some, who were Enemies to her Family, seem'd to commiserate the present State of the Empire, which requir'd a Man of Worth and Courage at the Helm, instead of a weak, helpless, and unregarded Woman; and this they urg'd with the greater Heat, because they thought the Empress would never think of marrying in regard of the Oath she had lately taken. *Eudocia* was quickly inform'd of what had been mov'd with so much freedom against her, and knew the only way she had left to prevent the Mischiefs with which she was threaten'd, was to marry some valiant deserving Man, who, being entrusted with an absolute Command, might protect her and her Children.

ROMANUS DIOGENES.

Romanus Diogenes was at that time a Prisoner at *Constantinople*, where he had been committed by the Empress, to whom he was accus'd as one who affected the Empire. He was a Person of a very beautiful Aspect and generous Temper: Being about this time call'd out to receive the Sentence of Death, which his Ambition had deserv'd, the whole Assembly were touch'd at the Appearance of the unhappy Prisoner, whose illustrious Birth (for he was descended from the Emperor *Romanus Argyrus*) and excellent Qualifications seem'd to have design'd him for a more honourable Fate, with the Considerations of which no one was more affected than the Empress her self. Having therefore put a stop to the Sentence they were ready to denounce against him, she gently check'd him for his ill-tim'd Ambition; and having obtain'd an Oath from him for his future Fidelity, the first set him at Liberty, and shortly after made him General of all her Forces, firmly resolving in her self to marry him,

if

if she could but recover the Writing, in which her Oath was compris'd, out of the Hands of the Patriarch. In this she was assisted by a Favourite Eunuch, who apply'd himself with much Art and Dissimulation to that Prelate, telling him that the Empress had cast her Eyes upon one *Bardas*, a young Gentleman of the Court, and the Patriarch's Nephew, and was so well affected to him, that she would gladly marry him, and make him Emperor, if the Patriarch would discharge her of the Oath she had lately taken, and convince her of the Lawfulness of it. *Johannes Xiphilinus*, a Person of great Probity and Learning, was at that time Patriach of *Constantinople*; and tho' he was otherwise averse to the Honours and Vanities of this World, yet being dazzled with the Prospect of his Nephew's Promotion, readily promis'd the Eunuch to concur with the Empress in whatever she should desire of him relating to that Matter, and accordingly shortly after represented to the Senators, whom he sent for one by one, "the dangerous Con-"dition of the Empire, continually threaten'd with "Foreign Invasions, which were not to be repress'd "by the Hands of a weak Woman, or the Authority "of young Children, and therefore requir'd the Va-"lour and Judgment of some deserving Man. Then "he took an Occasion to exclaim against the rash "Oath, which had been unjustly impos'd upon the "Empress, rather to satisfie the jealous Humour of "the late Emperor, than for any Advantage could "arise from it to the Commonwealth; he there-"fore urg'd how reasonable it was for the Empress "to be discharg'd from the Observance of it, that "being thus set at Liberty she might make choice "of some worthy Person, able to undergo the Bur-"den of Affairs, and to take upon him, in this vi-"sible time of Danger, the Protection both of the "Empress, her Children, and the Empire. Those few of the Senate, who were not mov'd by these Arguments, were overcome by more prevailing

Gifts

Gifts from the Empreſs; ſo that the Patriarch, by a
A. D. 1068. Publick Act of Senate, reſtor'd the Writing to her; and ſhe, having thus circumvented the Patriarch, and got her ſelf diſcharg'd from her Oath, ſhortly after marry'd *Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaim'd Emperor.

Diogenes marries the Empreſs.

Diogenes being thus, by a ſurpriſing Turn of Fortune, advanc'd from a Priſon to the Throne, immediately conſulted what were the moſt proper Ways to reſtrain the Progreſs of the *Turks*, who grew every Day more terrible, and threaten'd the Empire with an univerſal Inundation. He found the Armies of the Empire in a very deſperate Condition, which was chiefly owing to the Avarice and Inactivity of the late Emperors. The Provinces were utterly impoveriſh'd, and the Affairs at home in an unſettled Condition; notwithſtanding all theſe Inconveniencies, being a Man of a hardy reſolute Nature, he paſs'd over into *Aſia* at the Head of a ſmall Army ill provided, uſing all the means poſſible to recruit and ſupply it as he march'd along. Shortly after he was inform'd that the *Turkiſh* Sultan hearing of his Approach, and ignorant of what Numbers he was leading againſt him, was retir'd himſelf; but having divided his Army into two Bodies, ſent one of 'em into the Southern Parts of *Aſia*, and the other into the North, which deſtroy'd all the Country as they march'd along; and ſurpriſing the City of *Neo-Cæſarea*, now *Nexaria* in *Pontus*, had ſack'd it, and were gone off with a rich Booty. Hereupon ſelecting out the lighteſt Troops he had in his Army, he coaſted the Country with great Expedition, and never reſted 'till he was got betwixt the *Turks* and home; and falling ſuddenly upon 'em charg'd 'em ſo briskly that they fled away in great Confuſion, and left all their Baggage and Carriages, and whatever they got in their late Expedition, and the Sack of *Neo-Cæſarea*, behind 'em; from thence the Emperor march'd to

His Succeſs againſt the Turks.

Aleppo,

Aleppo, which was deliver'd up to him, together with *Hierapolis*, where he ſhortly after built a ſtrong Caſtle. Here whilſt he lay, being inform'd that part of his Army, which he had detach'd to join the Forces he at firſt had left behind him, were in danger of being overthrown by the *Turks*, he decamp'd with all Expedition, and march'd to their Relief; but the *Turks* far exceeding him in Numbers, ſurrounded him on a ſudden as he lay encamp'd near 'em, and threaten'd him with an unavoidable Deſtruction. At the ſame time the Governor of *Aleppo* treacherouſly revolted from him, and went over to the Enemy, who in great Confidence of an aſſur'd Victory, were already dividing the Spoils; but the Emperor, without ſounding a Trumpet, iſſu'd ſuddenly out of his Camp, and fell with great Violence upon 'em, as they lay in Security, little prepar'd for ſo unexpected an Attack, ſo that they were eaſily routed, and he might have had an entire Victory over 'em, had he thought it adviſeable to purſue 'em far from his Camp. Several Towns were after this deliver'd up to him as the Conſequence of his Victory, and having diſpers'd his Army into Winter-Quarters in *Cilicia*, and the Parts adjacent, he return'd himſelf to *Conſtantinople*; where he had hardly time to repoſe himſelf, before he was inform'd, that the reſtleſs *Turks* were again Invading the Frontiers of the Empire after their uſual manner, and had done much Miſchief about *Neo-Cæſarea*; ſo that in the beginning of the Spring he was forc'd to renew his Expedition againſt them, and having repreſs'd their Fury in thoſe Parts, he retir'd into *Cappadocia*, where he was inform'd that the *Turks*, having defeated *Philaretus*, whom *Diogenes* had left for the Security of the Frontiers upon the *Euphrates*, had afterwards ſack'd *Iconium*, a rich and populous City in *Cilicia*; whereupon he prepar'd to march againſt 'em in Perſon, but hearing that upon the Report of his coming they were re-

tir'd, he ſent the Governor of *Antioch* to ſtop their Paſſage near *Mopſueſtia*, who found the Work, in a great Meaſure, done to his Hand by the *Armenians*, who fell upon 'em in the Plains of *Tarſus*, and ſtripp'd 'em of all their rich Booty; and they hearing that the Emperor's Forces were approaching fled away by Night, and with great Difficulty eſcap'd into their own Country; which the Emperor underſtanding, and the Year being far advanc'd, he firſt ſettled the Affairs of the Provinces, and then return'd once more to *Conſtantinople*, where he made vigorous Preparations for a powerful Expedition againſt the *Turks* the Spring following.

It is not to be conceiv'd what great Alterations were wrought in the Army in ſo ſhort a time, as ſince this Emperor's Advancement; Levies were regularly made, the Legions were duly Officer'd, and the Officers juſtly encourag'd; ſo that had not *Diogenes* his Authority come to an untimely End, he had in all likelihood been as terrible to his Neighbours as moſt of his Predeceſſors; but Fortune appear'd as abſolute in his Deſtruction, as ſhe had been before in his Exaltation, and Fate had determin'd otherwiſe of the Empire.

In the beginning of the Spring the Emperor march'd into *Aſia*, and muſter'd his Forces in *Armenia*, where one of the Legions mutiny'd againſt him, for that they thought him too ſevere in his Diſcipline of the Army; but he, with an unſhaken Conſtancy, threaten'd to turn the reſt of the Army againſt 'em, and ſo quickly pacify'd 'em. In the mean time the *Turks* began to be in Motion on the other ſide, and ſeveral Actions happen'd between Parties detach'd from both Armies, in one of which *Nicephorus Baſilacius*, who commanded as General for the Emperor, was taken Priſoner, and honourably us'd by *Axan*, the *Turkiſh* Sultan, and Son of *Tangrolipix*.

This

This Prince, being a Man of great Experience and Sagacity, reflecting on the doubtful Event of War, and the numerous Forces the Emperor had rais'd against him, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Diogenes* with Propoſals for a firm and honourable Peace; but the Emperor inclining inadviſedly to the Advice of ſome about him, who perſuaded him that this Condeſcenſion in the Sultan proceeded from Fear, and an Apprehenſion of his Power, return'd a haughty Anſwer by the Ambaſſadors, and prepar'd for an Engagement. A great Body of his Troops, under the Command of *Raſelius*, one of his moſt experienc'd Officers, was abſent, and a Company of *Scythians*, who ſerv'd in the *Roman* Camp, revolted to the *Turks*, and there was great reaſon to think that their Countrymen, who were left behind, would ſoon follow their Example; notwithſtanding which the Emperor, either preſuming that the Strength he had remaining was ſufficient for the Service, or being hurry'd by his Deſtiny, drew out his Forces into Order of Battel, and fell upon the Enemy; who ſtill flattering themſelves with ſome hopes of an Accommodation, were very much ſurpriz'd to be thus unexpectedly charg'd, and behav'd themſelves like Men, who were equally unwilling to fight and to fly. However the Diſpute was continu'd with various Succeſs on both ſides the greateſt part of the Day; for tho' the *Turks* ſometimes gave Ground, yet they kept themſelves in Order, and charg'd briskly upon the *Romans*, 'till *Diogenes*, who was by this time advanc'd at ſome diſtance from his Camp, which he left weakly guarded, began to apprehend leſt the Enemy, who were ſuperior to him in Numbers, ſhould aſſault and take it, and therefore perceiving the Night to approach he ſounded a Retreat, and retir'd in good Order with that part of the Army which he commanded in Perſon: But *Andronicus*, the Son of *John Ducas*, Brother to the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, who look'd on *Diogenes* his good Fortune with a malicious Eye, and had a great Body

The Turks make Offers for a Peace, which are rejected.

of the *Roman* Forces under his Command, publiſh'd boldly, to thoſe who were near him, that the Emperor fled; and to encreaſe the Confuſion he ſaw 'em in, and confirm their Fears, he ſuddenly turn'd his Horſe about, and fled with great Precipitation to the Camp, and was follow'd in a diſorderly manner by the reſt of the Army, whom the *Turks* purſu'd, and did great Execution upon the Fugitive Chriſtians.

The Emperor defeated and taken Priſoner.

The Emperor, ſeeing the Condition his Forces were in, did all that lay in his Power to make 'em ſtand; but they, being preſs'd hard by the Enemy, were deaf to all Orders, and ſhifted every Man for himſelf. The Emperor, being thus forſaken by his Army, and oppreſs'd by the Multitude of his Enemies, many of whom he ſlew with his own Hands, was taken Priſoner, having firſt receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, and had his Horſe kill'd under him. When firſt the Sultan heard of his being taken he could hardly give Credit to it, 'till he was aſſur'd, by the Ambaſſadors he had lately ſent, that it was the Emperor, and by *Baſilacius*, who fell down at his Feet, and paid him the Honours due from a Subject to a Soveraign; whereupon *Axan* embrac'd the Royal Priſoner, who ſeem'd dejected, and aſham'd of his Captivity, and adviſ'd him to bear with Patience the Chance of War, which gives the Victory not always to the Brave, but Fortunate; promiſing, at the ſame time, to uſe him not like a Captive, but an Emperor, which he did accordingly, lodging him in a Royal Tent, entertaining him at his own Table, and releaſing ſuch Priſoners for whoſe Liberty the Emperor petition'd; and when he had thus entertain'd him with great Magnificence for ſeveral Days together, a perpetual Peace was concluded betwixt 'em, and the Emperor diſmiſs'd with ſuch Honours as never could have been expected at the Hands of an Enemy and *Barbarian*. Being thus diſmiſs'd he went attended with the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors, who were to ſee the Peace ratify'd at *Conſtantinople*, to *Theodoſiopolis*, where he attended

and is honourably treated by the Sultan, and diſmiſs'd.

tended some time for the Cure of his Wounds, designing, as soon as he was recover'd, to proceed on to the Imperial City, where such Alterations had been made during the unfortunate Prince his Captivity, as promis'd him but an uncomfortable Welcome. For *John*, the Brother to *Constantinus Ducas*, and *Psellus* a chief Senator, and others of the same Faction, hearing *Diogenes* was taken Prisoner, thrust *Eudocia* the Empress from the Government, and having forc'd her into a Monastery, proclaim'd her eldest Son, *Michael Ducas*, Emperor; who being young and ignorant, *John* acted as his Guardian, and arrogated to himself the sole Management of Affairs, preferring *Psellus*, and such other of his Accomplices as had been instrumental in the late Revolution, and discountenancing all those who seem'd in the least displeas'd at it. MICHAEL DUCAS.

In the mean time hearing *Diogenes* was releas'd, and that, being recover'd of his Wounds, he was approaching the Imperial City, he issu'd out Letters in the young Emperor's Name, commanding all the Governors of the Provinces, through which he was to pass, not to receive or obey *Diogenes* as Emperor, but to deny him all the Honours due to that high Dignity; and being inform'd that upon the News of so unexpected a Revolution he was fortifying himself in a Castle call'd *Docia*, whither some of his most faithful Friends resorted to him, he sent *Andronicus* his eldest Son, *Diogenes* his inveterate Enemy against him. *Andronicus* having easily defeated him, pursu'd the unfortunate Prince to *Adana*, a City in *Cilicia*, where being closely besieg'd by *Andronicus*, he was at length forc'd to surrender upon Condition he might retire to a private Life, and live unmolested. *Andronicus*, having thus got him into his Power, carry'd him into *Phrygia* in expectation of farther Orders from the Court. Here *Diogenes* fell dangerously ill, being, as many suspected, secretly poison'd; and, as if all this were not sufficient, his Eyes were shortly after in a barbarous manner pull'd out, and he confin'd to the A. D. 1071.

Island *Prota*, where he ended his Days in a most miserable Manner; for as there was no Care taken of his Wounds his Eyes putrify'd, and Worms bred out of the Putrifaction, which created such an abominable Smell, that no one could endure to come near him. This unfortunate Prince suffer'd all this with an admirable Patience, and dy'd soon after in the Month of *October*, after he had reign'd three Years and eight Months, *A. D.* 1071.

Diogenes *his Death.*

Some say the young Emperor was wholly ignorant of that barbarous Cruelty, and that it was done by the Contrivance and Authority of *John* his Uncle; however it were, he must be allow'd to have been as unfortunate, and to have deserv'd it as little as any of his Predecessors. All his personal Merit, and Publick Zeal for the Welfare of his Country, could not avert the Divine Indignation, for being a Party to that Breach of Oath in *Eudocia* the Empress, who her self receiv'd but small Satisfaction from so egregious a Prevarication; for as at first his necessary Attendance in the Wars forc'd her Husband from her Embraces, so was she her self at last shut up in a Monastery, and not suffer'd by her Presence to Administer to him, to Comfort and Condole with him in the utmost of his Extremities, and the severest Trials.

Diogenes being thus remov'd, to the great Detriment of the Empire; *Michal Ducas* was generally receiv'd for Emperor, but being sluggish, and uncapable, the chief Management of Affairs resided in his Uncle *John* and his Family, who govern'd all with an indisputed Authority, and apply'd their Power to the Oppression of those they were bound to protect. As soon as *Axan* heard of the miserable End of the late Emperor, he resented it with a generous Indignation, and conceiving the perpetual League he had so lately concluded with *Diogenes* was hereby render'd ineffectual, he resolv'd instantly to revenge the Death of his Allie, and to invade the Imperial Provinces, not so much now

for the sake of Spoil, but as one who resolv'd perfectly to Conquer what he Invaded, and Possess what he had once Conquer'd.

The Emperor hearing of the great Preparations of the *Turks*, first sent *Isaac Comnenus*, Son of the late Emperor *Comnenus*, against them; who, marching at the Head of a numerous Army, at first had several Advantages over the Infidels, whose advanc'd Parties he engag'd with Success; but being too hasty to bring it to a general Engagement, he was, after an obstinate Dispute on both Sides, totally defeated, his Army put to the Rout, and himself taken Prisoner, and forc'd some time after to redeem himself with a vast Sum of Money. In the mean while the Emperor, having rais'd another Army, appointed his Uncle *John Ducas* Commander in chief, who had, in all Probability, succeeded in his Expedition had it not been for *Ruselius*, or *Urseltus*, a *Gaul*, who with some Troops of that Nation which he commanded, having revolted from the Emperor, defeated *John* near the River *Sangarius*, and took him Prisoner; and tho' he shortly after releas'd him, and join'd with him against the *Turks*, yet were his Troops so broken by the late Action, and the Spirits of the Soldiers in general so discompos'd, that *Axan* engag'd them on a sudden, overthrew and took 'em both Prisoners, and had undoubtedly pursu'd his Conquests without any Opposition, had he not been diverted by the Motions of *Cutlu-Moses*, of whom mention has been made already, who fled from *Tangrolipix*, the late Sultan, but hearing of his Death return'd with great Forces out of *Arabia*, and laying a Claim to the Sovereignty, prepar'd to decide the Controversie by a Battel.

The Turks *defeat the* Roman *Army.*

These Divisions among the *Turks* must in time exceedingly have broken their Strength, to the great Benefit of Christendom, had not the Caliph of *Babylon*, who, tho' he had been depriv'd of his Temporal Sovereignty, yet continu'd to exercise an Authority over them in Matters of Religion, represented to 'em the

great Danger they were in by their Inteſtine Diſſentions, which had already deſtroy'd the Great, and otherwiſe Invincible Empire of the *Saracens*, and would infallibly do as much by them, did they not come to a ſpeedy Agreement, and arm mutually againſt the Chriſtians. Theſe Words, which carry'd an unanſwerable Weight with them, wrought ſo ſeaſonable an Effect upon the Competitors, that they immediately laid down their Arms, and agreed to be determin'd by the Caliph's Arbitration; who inſtantly decreed that *Axan* ſhould enjoy, with an undiſputed Right, the new Monarchy ſo lately erected by his Father in the Upper *Aſia*, and ſhould aſſiſt *Cutlu-Moſes* and his Sons in the Conqueſt of ſuch Parts as they afterwards obtain'd, and call'd from them *Turcomania*, where they were to rule with an abſolute and independent Authority. This Order, ſo pernicious to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, was purſu'd with ſuch Application, that in a ſhort time they ſubdu'd all *Media*, the Provinces of *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and in the End made *Nice* the Seat of their Empire.

An Agreement between the Turks *extreamly prejudicial to the Chriſtians.*

Nor is this their extraordinary Progreſs to be wonder'd at, conſidering it happen'd during the ſluggiſh Reigns of the preſent Emperor *Michael Ducas*, and his Succeſſor *Nicephorus Botoniates*, whoſe Weakneſs and Incapacity encourag'd other Pretenders to the Imperial Dignity, ſome of whom, the better to purſue their Pretenſions, were not aſham'd to join with the *Turks* themſelves, and make uſe of their Aſſiſtance; it being natural to Ambition to apply without Shame the moſt infamous Means to the obtaining their unwarrantable Ends. Among theſe, in the firſt Place, was *Ruſelius* before mention'd, who having, from his Youth, ſerv'd in the *Roman* Army, had acquir'd much Experience and Reputation; and tho' his late Revolt had deſervedly render'd him ſuſpected to the Emperor, yet being redeem'd out of Captivity by his Wife, he was reſtor'd to Favour, and entruſted with a conſiderable

Com-

Command in the Leſſer *Aſia*, where having join'd to him ſeveral Troops of his own, and other Nations, and being ſecretly promis'd the Protection of the *Turks*, he threw off his Obedience to the Authority that had ſent him thither, and aſpir'd at nothing leſs than the Empire. Ruſelius *uſurps.*

Michael, upon the firſt notice of his Rebellion, ſent ſeveral Commanders of great Eſteem againſt him, who, by their ſeveral Overthrows, ſery'd only to encreaſe his Hopes and Preſumption. Some he circumvented by Fraud, or over-power'd by ſudden and unexpected Onſets, and the reſt, being aſſiſted by the *Turks*, he defeated in open Battel; 'till at length the Emperor was advis'd to ſend *Alexius Commenus*, who was afterwards Emperor, againſt him. *Alexius*, tho' at that time very young, yet was even then look'd upon to be a Man ſubtle and daring, and therefore judg'd the fitter to contend with *Ruſelius*. He accordingly in a few Days, with a wonderful Succeſs, put a ſtop to the Courſe of the Uſurper's Fortune, and reduc'd him to ſuch Straits that he was forc'd to apply himſelf to *Tutach*, who commanded at that time for the *Turks*, with whom he offer'd to join both his Intereſt and his Forces. *Alexius*, who well knew the Conſequence of ſuch a Conjunction, reſolv'd, if poſſible, to prevent it; he therefore, by Meſſengers ſent on purpoſe to *Tutach*, repreſented to him, *The Peace that was at that time betwixt the Emperor and the Sultan, which it was his Duty religiouſly to obſerve*: He told him, Ruſelius *was equally obnoxious to the* Turks *and the* Romans; that *having conquer'd the latter his Ambition would make him carry his Army into* Perſia, *where he would repeat the ſame Hoſtilities he had already committed in the Leſſer* Aſia; and knowing the mercenary Mind of the Barbarian, and how powerful *Ruſelius* his Preſents had formerly been, he offer'd him an immenſe Sum of Money, upon Condition he would deliver the Uſurper up into his Hands; and concluded by telling him, *He would not only oblige the Emperor, who was ready*

to

to reward him for so seasonable a piece of Service, but would do a thing highly acceptable to the Sultan himself, who had great reason to be offended at a Man of Ruselius *his ambiguous Temper, who had, by Turns, been a Traitor as well to the* Turks *as the* Romans.

Tutach was affected with no part of this Message, so much as that wherein mention was made of the Reward. Having therefore, after a short Consultation, demanded a certain Sum, which was readily promis'd him by *Alexius*, he seiz'd suddenly on *Ruselius*, and sent him bound to *Amasia*, where the *Roman* General then lay, who, with much difficulty, rais'd the Money by a Contribution from the Inhabitants of that City, and sent *Ruselius* to *Constantinople*, having first order'd him to be blinded, as some have alledg'd, tho' others affirm the contrary; after which he reduc'd all those Towns that had either declar'd for *Ruselius* when first he usurp'd, or had been forc'd by him afterwards. Having, in the best manner he could, compos'd the Disorders of those Parts, he return'd to the Imperial City, the Affairs of which were then in the utmost Confusion, for the People were generally dissatisfy'd with the Government, and almost every Day receiv'd some new Ground for Complaints.

and is supprest'd by Alexius.

About this time the City was afflicted with a grievous Famine, during which the covetous and improvident Emperor, who ought to have reliev'd the Inhabitants with a Fatherly Affection, lessen'd the Measure of the publick Corn, and consequently rais'd the Price of it, which deservedly got him the Sirname of *Parapinaces*. His Avarice had render'd him so ungracious to the People, that they seem'd prepar'd to lay hold on the first Opportunity to remove him, of which, tho' he was sufficiently sensible, yet he took no Care, by any popular Act, to recommend himself to 'em.

NICEPHORUS BOTONIATES.

During these Jealousies and Discontents at home, the *Turks*, having renew'd the War, prevail'd on every side abroad. *Nicephorus Botoniates* had been sent to com-

command the Forces of the Empire in *Asia*, where being render'd considerable by his many Services, and having wonderfully enrich'd himself, by which means he was enabled to bribe the *Turks* to countenance his Undertakings; he resolv'd no longer to serve a Prince so universally contemn'd and dislik'd, but to set up for himself. Accordingly having first try'd the Temper of his Soldiers, whom he had oblig'd by his Liberality, he enter'd into a Treaty with the *Turks*, who made a great Advantage of those frequent Revolutions in the Empire, and was shortly after declar'd Emperor by the Army. A. D. 1078.

Michael was so ill prepar'd for such a Defection, that he receiv'd the News of it with the greatest Consternation, which was aggravated, because much about the same time he was inform'd *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded in *Dyrrachium*, was preparing for the like Attempt upon the Imperial Authority in the West, and was so far from moving to his Assistance against *Botoniates*, that trusting to his own Strength, and the Affection of his Soldiers, he resolv'd to declare against 'em both. In this Extremity he cast his Eyes upon *Robert Guiscbard*, a *Norman* by Birth, but at that time Duke of *Calabria* in *Italy*, to whose Daughter he had promis'd his Son *Constantine* in Marriage; but *Robert* was at that time too much employ'd at home to support his Allie, so that *Michael*, unable of himself to oppose his Adversaries, and despairing of Assistance from abroad, upon a certain Information that *Botoniates* was approaching the Imperial City at the Head of a numerous Army, compos'd as well of *Turks* as Christians, he submitted to an invincible Necessity, and having first endeavour'd to soften *Nicephorus* by an humble submissive Message, he with a seeming Chearfulness resign'd the Imperial Ornaments, and retir'd into a Monastery, out of which he was shortly after remov'd, and made Arch-Bishop of *Ephesus*. Michael resigns.

Thus

Thus ended the Reign of a Prince, who, ſucceeding one who had deſerv'd ſo well, and been ſo ſerviceable to the Empire, was from the Beginning very unacceptable to his Subjects; tho' in ſome Reſpects he was worthy of Commendation, for he was naturally addicted to Learning, which was almoſt the only thing that met with Encouragement throughout his Reign; for beſides his exceſſive Covetouſneſs, he was ſubject to detract from and oppreſs ſuch as were more deſerving than himſelf. How he behav'd himſelf under his new Office is left uncertain, tho' we ſhall have occaſion to make ſome mention of him upon another Account hereafter.

and Nicephorus *acknowledg'd Emperor.*

Immediately upon this Reſignation of *Michael*, *Nicephorus* enter'd *Conſtantinople*, where he was acknowledg'd Emperor on the twenty fifth of *March*, 1078, and being crown'd by the Hands of the Patriarch, prepar'd with all diligence to reduce *Bryennius*, whom he conſider'd as a dangerous Competitor, both in reſpect of his Perſonal Abilities, and the great Courage and Diſcipline of his Troops. *Bryennius* was deſcended from an Illuſtrious Family, and ſo well qualify'd both in his Perſon and his Mind, that he ſeem'd deſign'd by Nature from his Birth to Command. As he march'd Eaſtward from *Dyrrachium*, the Cities through which he paſs'd receiv'd him with open Arms, and reiterated Acclamations, and his Party encreas'd ſo viſibly every Day, that for ſome time it was doubtful who was the Perſon deſign'd to be obey'd. *Botoniates* was not ſo well ſecur'd of the Affections of his People at home, to undertake the Expedition himſelf, but committed the Conduct of the War to *Alexius Comnenus*, who, tho' created General in Chief of all the Forces for that purpoſe, with ſome Unwillingneſs undertook it; for as the Eaſtern Forces were chiefly employ'd for the Defence of the Frontiers againſt the *Turks*, who grew every Day more powerful, ſo the greateſt part of thoſe in the Weſt had declar'd for *Bryennius*, and left an inconſiderable Body to oppoſe him.

Bryennius *uſurps in the Weſt.*

Alexius

Alexius was ſent at the Head of theſe againſt *Bryennius*, having receiv'd the Promiſe of being reinforc'd with ſome *Turkiſh* Auxiliaries; but without waiting for their Arrival he muſter'd his Army, and began his March, well knowing how favourable the leaſt Delay would be to *Bryennius*, to whom the People in general were ſo well affected; and conſidering how much he was inferior to the Enemy in Strength, he prepar'd rather to circumvent him by Stratagems, than oppoſe him in the Field. *againſt whom the Emperor ſends Alexius,*

Accordingly he endeavour'd, as much as he could, to conceal from *Bryennius*, in his Marches and Encampments, the Weakneſs of his Forces; and when, after ſeveral Attempts on each ſide, and Skirmiſhes by Parties, he thought fit to bring it to a general Engagement near *Calaura* in *Thrace*, he made ſo good a uſe of his Ground, and ſo artfully diſpos'd his Forces, that *Bryennius* was in the end defeated and taken Priſoner. The Fortune of the Day continu'd doubtful for ſome time, *Alexius* making that good by his Stratagems which he wanted in Men; tho' had the *Scythians*, that ſerv'd under *Bryennius*, purſu'd the Advantage they had at firſt over their Enemies, and had forborn to plunder 'till they had been aſſur'd of the Victory, it had not declar'd ſo ſoon for *Alexius*; who, during the Confuſion the unſeaſonable Avarice of thoſe Barbarians had created, ſeiz'd on *Bryennius* his State-Horſe, adorn'd as it was with the Imperial Ornaments, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times; and having order'd it to be led up and down the Army, proclaim'd aloud that the General was ſlain.

By this Device *Alexius* fix'd the Fortune of the Day; for on the one Hand it added freſh Vigour to the Imperial Troops, and quite diſpirited thoſe of *Bryennius* on the other; and it was impoſſible for him to convince them of the Error, into which they had been betray'd, 'till it was too late; wherefore finding himſelf irrecoverably loſt, he at length fled after the reſt, and was taken in the Purſuit, having firſt *who takes him Priſoner.*

first giving extraordinary Proofs of his Personal Valour. *Alexius* receiv'd him with a Respect and Commiseration due to his Person and Misfortunes. Having settled his Forces in Quarters of Refreshment, he set forward with this unhappy Prisoner to *Constantinople*, but before he could reach the Imperial City, *Borilus*, the great Favourite of *Botoniates*, met him with Orders from the Emperor, in whose Name he requir'd *Bryennius* to be deliver'd up to him, and gave him a Commission to march back against *Basilacius*, who began to appear as dangerous to the Empire as *Bryennius* had been before him.

Basilacius usurps,

Basilacius was a Person remarkable for the Strength of his Body, and great Presence of Mind, which made him bold, and capable of the most hazardous Undertakings. Being naturally proud and ambitious, he had been long designing what he now thought fit to put in Execution; like the Heir of *Bryennius* his Courage, as he prov'd afterwards of his Misfortunes, he prevail'd with the Men of Interest in the West to declare for him, and at the Head of a considerable Number of Veteran Soldiers, and the Boors of the Country, who were join'd by those that had escap'd the late Defeat, he set out from *Dyrrachium* to *Thessalonica*, which he easily took, and having been declar'd Emperor in his March, he there began to exercise his Imperial Authority.

In the mean time *Alexius*, having drawn his Troops out of their Quarters, march'd into *Thessaly*, and perceiving how much *Basilacius* was superior to him in Force, he encamp'd himself very advantageously between two Rivers, prepar'd to prevent any Surprize, and vigilant to lay hold of all Advantages. *Basilacius* lay encamp'd very near him, and knowing the Caution of his Adversary, and how difficult it would be to bring him to an Engagement, he resolv'd to fall on his Camp by Night. Of this *Alexius* being apprehensive, either from his own natural Sagacity, or the Information of Deserters, gave Orders for all to be ready

by

by the Evening; and having commanded the uſual Fires to be kindled throughout the Camp, and his own Tent to be illuminated with Lamps, as ſoon as Night approach'd he march'd out with his Forces without the leaſt Noiſe, and poſted himſelf at a convenient diſtance behind his Camp, expecting the Iſſue of his Stratagem. *Baſilacius*, on the other ſide, having prepar'd his Men for that purpoſe, waited for the Opportunity he promis'd himſelf from the Darkneſs of the Night, and then broke with great Violence into *Alexius* his Camp; where, whilſt his Forces were diſpers'd to kill their Enemies, whom they thought to find aſleep, he himſelf prepar'd to ſurprize their General in his Tent, whither he march'd with full confidence; but was hardly ſenſible of his Error, and the Danger he had thruſt himſelf into, before *Alexius* return'd in a regular Order, and fell ſuddenly upon thoſe, who, thinking their Enemies fled, were in a diſorderly manner intent upon the Spoil, and unprepar'd at firſt to make any Reſiſtance. *Baſilacius*, beſide the Diſappointment of his Prey, found now upon what great Diſadvantages he was to contend; however he reduc'd his Forces into the beſt Order he was able, and make good his Defence all that Night, and ſome part of the Day following; but at length his Men, who were forc'd to fight upon unequal Terms, began to give Ground, and perceiving *Manuel*, *Baſilacius* his Brother, was taken, they fled with great Precipitation, and threw themſelves with their General into *Theſſalonica*, whither *Alexius* cloſely purſu'd 'em, and immediately ſummon'd the City; and becauſe he was willing to get *Baſilacius* alive, if poſſible, into his Cuſtody, he promis'd Security to his Perſon, and his Intereſt with the Emperor for an Indemnity for what was paſt, provided he would ſubmit and ſurrender himſelf.

but is defeated by Alexius.

Baſilacius was ſo far from accepting of thoſe advantageous Conditions, that he prepar'd to hold out to the laſt Extremity; but the Inhabitants, who were afraid

afraid leſt *Alexius* ſhould demoliſh their Town, open'd their Gates, allowing *Baſilacius* juſt time enough to retire into the Caſtle, whither he carry'd with him the ſame invincible Spirit, before the Victorious General was receiv'd into the City. Here *Alexius* once more made Offers of an Accommodation to *Baſilacius*, who with an unſhaken Conſtancy once more rejected 'em, chuſing rather to fall like a Soldier with his Sword in his Hand, than ſubmit to his Enemies; till the Soldiers, who were to defend the Caſtle, terrify'd at *Alexius* his Succeſs, laid violent Hands upon him, and deliver'd him up to the *Roman* General; who, together with his Priſoner, ſent an Account of his Victory to the Emperor, who commanded *Baſilacius* his Eyes to be pluck'd out, and dignify'd *Alexius* with the Title of *Sebaſtos*, or *Auguſtus*.

and taken Priſoner.

A. D. 1080. By theſe Services *Alexius* render'd himſelf conſiderable in the Empire, and made way for his future Advancement, which he ſhortly after effected. In this he was faithfully aſſiſted by his Brother *Iſaac*, and under-hand by *Mary* the Empreſs, at firſt the Wife of *Michael Ducas*, and afterwards of his Succeſſor *Nicephorus Botoniates*. *Nicephorus*, being an eaſie, improvident, and unactive Prince, ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two *Scythian* Brothers, who, well acquainted with the Arts of the Court, reign'd there with an invidious Authority; when they perceiv'd that *Botoniates* was too much declin'd in Years to hope for any Iſſue of his own, they adviſ'd him to think of a Succeſſor; and he, tho' *Conſtantinus Ducas*, Son of the late Emperor, and his own Son-in-Law, had an indiſputed Right to ſucceed him, yet, after ſome Conſultation with his two Favourites, he declar'd privately in Favour of *Synademus*, a Youth related to him, of illuſtrious Parentage, great Beauty, and of other Qualities uncommon to one of his Years. This Deſignation was not manag'd with ſo great Secrecy, but the Empreſs had Intimation of it, and being highly concern'd at the Injury ſhe thought they were

were doing her Son, she discover'd all to *Isaac* and *Alexius Comnenus*. *Isaac* had lately marry'd one of her near Relations, and *Alexius* was so powerful in the Army, and had been just then adopted by her, that she was easily perswaded, both by Affinity and Interest, to apply to them; and they, being naturally Ambitious, and by Birth laying a Claim to the Empire, strove to strengthen her Resentments, and promis'd her all imaginable Assistance.

The Intimacy that daily appear'd betwixt the Empress and the *Comneni* administer'd just Grounds of Jealousie to the two Favourites, who therefore at first endeavour'd to render 'em suspected to the Emperor, and when they found that could not be effected, they prepar'd by some violent Means to remove 'em. Of this *Alexius* receiv'd a seasonable Information, some say by means of the vigilant Empress her self, so that having first inform'd his Mother and Relations of the Danger they were in, he apply'd himself to *Pacurianus*, a Principal Officer in the Army, the Smalness of whose Stature was abundantly made good by the largeness of his Soul, his Experience in the Wars, and Illustrious Birth. *Pacurianus* being inform'd by *Alexius* of the two Brothers Designs, without any Hesitation return'd him this resolute Answer, *If early the next Morning you will withdraw to the Army, behold here the faithful Companion of your Flight and Fortunes; but if you delay a Moment longer, I will instantly discover all to the Emperor, and inform him of the treasonable Proposals you have made me.* *Alexius*, charm'd with so generous a Proceeding, came immediately to this Agreement with him, which was confirm'd by Oath, That *whenever the one should be advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, the other should succeed him in all his Employments.*

Alexius being in Danger prepares for a Rebellion.

This being done to their mutual Satisfaction, *Alexius*, *Isaacius*, *Pacurianus*, and the rest of their Adherents, fled early in the Morning towards the Army lying then upon the Borders in *Thrace*, from

whence they ſent a Meſſenger to *John*, the Brother of the late Emperor *Conſtantinus Ducas*, living then in thoſe Parts, with Invitations to partake of the Entertainments, as they term'd it, which they had been preparing. *John* at firſt receiv'd the Meſſenger with much Conſternation; on the one Hand he was afraid of the Emperor's Reſentment, (who had already entertain'd a Jealouſie of him) ſhould the Conſpirators miſcarry; on the other he apprehended the Power of the *Comneni*, who were Maſters of all the Forces quarter'd in that Country, and were able to puniſh him upon a Refuſal; to this Conſideration he added another of no leſs weight, the general Diſſatisfaction of the People upon the great Progreſs of the *Turks*, who prevail'd in all Parts, and had lately taken the City of *Cyzicus*, which made 'em prone to any Innovations. Hereupon he chearfully embrac'd the Propoſals, and ordering his numerous Retinue to be got ready, he ſet forward on his Journey, and on his way intercepted an Officer, who was going with a great Treaſure, part of the Emperor's Revenue, to *Conſtantinople*, which he ſeiz'd, and by ſo unexpected a Supply, render'd his Appearance more welcome to the *Comneni*.

Immediately upon his Arrival the Chief Officers of the Army conſulted what was next to be done, and after ſome Conſideration whether *Iſaacius*, or *Alexius* ſhould be declar'd Emperor, it was unanimouſly decreed in favour of the latter, as well at the Inſtigation of *Iſaacius* himſelf, as by the Advice and earneſt Exhortations of *John Ducas*, and all his powerful Relations, who were the more inclinable to him becauſe *Alexius* had marry'd *Irene*, one of their Family. Accordingly *Alexius* was declar'd, and ſaluted Emperor by all the Army, which he led, by long Marches, towards *Conſtantinople*, receiving the Acclamations and Acknowledgments of all the Cities as he paſs'd.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS.

Nicephorus

Nicephorus receiv'd the News of his Approach with the utmoſt Conſternation; his Age had robb'd him of that Strength and Activity for which he had heretofore being deſervedly renown'd, and his preſent Dangers had render'd him uncapable of ſafe and wholeſome Councils. The Citizens in general were diſaffected, the Senate irreſolute, and tho' his two Favourites, and ſome others continu'd faithful to him, yet they ſeem'd rather reſolv'd to Fall with him, than capable of Protecting him. The Senſe of his own Uſurpation added a weight to his preſent Confuſion, and the Wrong he had done others taught him what he was to expect himſelf.

Whilſt he lay under theſe Apprehenſions *Alexius* approach'd the Imperial City, to which he thought not fit to lay a regular Siege, but by ſlight Skirmiſhes, and momentary Attempts, try the Temper and Inclinations of the Inhabitants; chuſing rather, if poſſible, to have it betray'd into his Hands, than by the Obſtinacy of a Siege to force it. In this he was very happily aſſiſted by *George Palæologus*, a Perſon of Principal Authority in the Empire, who at firſt was with great Difficulty perſuaded to eſpouſe the Intereſt of the *Comneni*; but having once embrac'd it he appear'd a very zealous Champion for them, tho' his Father continu'd firm in his Obedience to *Botoniates*. This Man enter'd into a Treaty with him, who had one of the Quarters of the City committed to his Charge, and he promis'd to open the Gates at the ſame time that *Palæologus*, who got ſecretly into the Town, was to give *Alexius* a Signal from the Turret, that he might march and take Poſſeſſion of them. This Deſign was executed with a Succeſs ſuitable to the Secrecy with which it was concerted; and the *Comneni* were Maſters of the City before *Botoniates* knew it was aſſaulted. *Alexius* his Army, being compos'd of *Barbarians* as well as Chriſtians, 'tis incredible to relate the Miſchief they did in that rich and populous City, which they plunder'd with an unheard-of Brutality, without

He takes Conſtantinople.

out any regard had to things ſacred, robbing the Churches as well as Shops, prophaning Cloyſters, and unripping Houſes with an equal Impetuoſity.

Palæologus, having thus gain'd Admiſſion for *Alexius* his Troops into the City, ſo dexterouſly manag'd the Officers of the Fleet then riding in the Haven, that they all declar'd for the new Emperor; and *Botoniates* ſent to offer a Submiſſion to *Alexius*, to whom he propos'd wholly to reſign the Power of Emperor, provided he might be ſuffer'd to ſhare the Name with him, and reſerve ſome of the outward Ornaments of the Imperial Dignity. To this the *Comneni* are ſaid to have aſſented, but were with great Obſtinacy oppos'd in it by *John Ducas*, who, diſcovering his implacable Hatred to *Botoniates*, upon the Account of his Nephew *Michael*, would ſuffer *Alexius* to liſten to no Accommodation. In the mean time *Borilus*, obſerving with how much Security *Alexius* his Soldiers rang'd throughout the City, drew together a good Body of Forces well arm'd, and of approv'd Fidelity, with which he offer'd *Botoniates* to fall upon the unthinking Enemy, and promis'd to give him a good Account of his Undertaking. This Offer was thankfully receiv'd by the diſconſolate Emperor, but *Coſma* the Patriarch happening to be preſent, and dreading the Effuſion of Blood, from which, after the firſt Impreſſion, *Alexius* his Soldiers had hitherto abſtain'd, advis'd him at length to ſubmit to the divine Will, and retire to a private Life, rather than by his Obſtinacy ſuffer the City to be polluted with the Slaughter of Chriſtians wallowing in each other's Blood. *Botoniates* was ſo lively touch'd with this Heavenly Exhortation, that he immediately retir'd out of the Imperial Palace, and fled for Refuge to the Great Church; where with much Difficulty, he was perſuaded to be ſhaven, and to turn Monk, after a Reign of almoſt three Years, during which he did nothing anſwerable to the Expectation Men had conceiv'd of him before his Advancement, but left the Empire in

and Depoſes Botoniates.

a

a worſe Condition than that wherein he found it, ſuffering the *Turks* to gain Ground every Day in *Aſia*, without undertaking any thing effectually to reſtrain 'em. His great Favourite *Borilus* made it appear in the end how much he lov'd the Authority, and how little he eſteem'd the Perſon of his great Maſter and Benefactor; for when he found that the Patriarch's Admonitions had prevail'd, contrary to his Advice and Expectation, and that the confus'd Emperor had forgot to diveſt himſelf of the Imperial Gown before he quitted the Palace to retire to the Church, he violently tore off the Jewels that were faſten'd to the Sleeve, adding with an inſolent Reproach, that an Habit, depriv'd of all Ornaments, beſt became the Condition he had with ſuch a poorneſs of Spirit embrac'd. After *Botoniates* had been for ſome time in the Cloyſter, he was ask'd by one of his intimate Friends, *With what Temper of Mind he bore that Change of Condition?* To whom he reply'd, *That he found nothing unpleaſant in his preſent State of Life, but his enjoin'd Abſtinence from Fleſh*; an uncommon Anſwer to an obvious Queſtion.

CHAP. IV.

From the Beginning of Alexius *his Reign, 'till the Western Christians expell'd the* Greeks *out of* Constantinople.

Containing the Space of 119 *Years.*

I. IF *Alexius* had consider'd the unhappy Conclusion of the late Reigns, he would have had small reason to have coveted his Advancement; but Ambition, like a vicious Glass, represents things in their wrong Colours, and makes some Men fond of the Imperial Purple, tho' in the end it proves as pernicious as *Hercules* his Shirt. The greatest and best Pretence to Power is a larger Opportunity of doing good, tho' in the mean time a Man has as full a Scope for the Exercise of his Virtues in a Cell, as upon a Throne, and that Water which flows from a polluted Fountain, how clear soever it may appear, must be dangerous and unwholsome. However Usurpations were, by this time, grown so familiar to the *Constantinopolitans*, that he only was judg'd to have a Legal Right, who had the longest Sword; and Succession was so far from being observ'd among 'em, that Possession it self was an unregarded Plea, unless supported by the Force of Arms; than which nothing can be more pernicious to the Safety of a State, or more apparently threaten the Dissolution of it.

A. D. 1081. *Alexius*, having thus master'd the City of *Constantinople*, was immediately, upon *Botoniates* his Resignation, crown'd by the Hands of the Patriarch, in the Month of *April*, in the fourth Indiction, *An. Dom.* 1081. After which he took care, in the best manner he could, to reward those who had been instrumental in his Promotion; but found himself so unable to answer all their Deserts, or Expectations, that he was oblig'd

oblig'd to invent new Honours and Dignities to gratifie them. *Conſtantinus Ducas*, the Son of the late Emperor *Michael*, was honour'd with a Shadow of the Imperial Dignity; he was ſuffer'd to wear an Imperial Crown, and make uſe of the other Ornaments inſeparable to that Dignity. He ſign'd with *Alexius* in all Acts and Grants, was ſaluted with him in all publick Acclamations, and follow'd immediately after him in the general Proceſſions. A Promiſe of this his Mother *Mary*, the late Empreſs, is ſaid to have obtain'd from the *Comneni* before they undertook to declare againſt *Botoniates*, which was now confirm'd by a Golden Bull at the Inſtigation of *John Ducas*, who thought it the only Means to perſuade *Mary* to quit the Imperial Palace, from whence he was deſirous to remove her, either out of an inveterate Averſion to her Perſon, or a Diſtruſt leſt ſhe ſhould give Occaſion to ſome new Commotions; for ſhe was a Princeſs belov'd by the People, and of ſo exquiſite a Beauty, that tho' ſhe was ſomething paſt the Prime of her Years, it was thought no impoſſible thing for her to enſnare one of the *Comneni*. However, having thus provided for the Honour and Safety of her Son, ſhe withdrew to *Mangana*, and contented her ſelf with a private Life. After this *Alexius* proceeded to reward his Brother, and the reſt of his Relations, which he did with ſo liberal a Hand, that he thereby impoveriſh'd his Treaſury, which threw him upon unjuſt Exactions and illegal Uſurpations, the unhappy Effects of which he ſeverely felt afterwards. When this was done, knowing how much the late barbarous Behaviour of his Soldiers in the City had offended the Clergy and the People, he thought the only way left to reconcile himſelf to 'em, was to make a publick Confeſſion, and undergo a publick Penance; which he did with more Art and Deſign, as ſome affirm, than Humility and Devotion: For having made an open Acknowledgment of his Rebellion, and the great Damage the Imperial City ſuſtain'd, as a Conſequence of it,

the Patriarch enjoin'd him, and all thoſe who had aſſiſted him in the Defection, a Penance for forty Days; during which they were to faſt, and ſleep on the Ground, in the Performance of which none appear'd ſo chearful as the Emperor.

Alexius his Actions againſt the Turks.

Having, as he thought, by theſe Rewards and Expiations ſettled the Minds of his People at home, he began to obſerve the growing Power of the *Turks*, whoſe Sultan *Solyman* had, during the Diſtractions of the late Reigns, fix'd his Court at *Nice*, and from thence made daily Incurſions up as far the *Boſphorus*, roving without Control upon the Sea-Coaſts, and always returning loaden with Booty. To prevent this, the Emperor order'd ſufficient Numbers of his Forces to embark on board light Pinnaces deſign'd for that purpoſe, who coaſting along the Shoar by Night, where-ever they found the *Turks* not exceeding them in Numbers, landed on a ſudden, and fell violently upon 'em; and having done ſufficient Execution, they as ſuddenly reimbark'd, and prepar'd for the like Onſet upon ſome other Poſt, which they attempted with an equal Succeſs. This they continu'd ſo long, and harraſs'd the Enemy to that Degree, that they were forc'd to quit their Stations upon the Shoar, and remove farther up into the Country; whither the *Romans* follow'd 'em, ſeiz'd the Poſts they had deſerted, from whence they tir'd 'em by their frequent Alarms, and ſo gaul'd 'em by their ſudden and unexpected Aſſaults, ſtill deluding 'em with as quick a Retreat, that the Sultan, who had loſt many of his Subjects in this tumultuary War, thought it adviſeable to ſue for Peace.

who conclude a Peace with him.

Though *Alexius* was ſenſible of the Neceſſities to which he had reduc'd the *Turks*, and how eaſie it was for him to purſue his preſent Advantages, yet he readily liſten'd to the Overtures made him by *Solyman*'s Ambaſſadors, who thereupon concluded a Peace between him and the Sultan.

It

It has been truly obſerv'd, that the *Turks* ow'd the Extent of their Dominions, which in time cover'd ſo great a Part of the Earth, rather to the unhappy Diſſentions among Chriſtians, than the Courage or Diſcipline of their own Forces, of which the Hiſtory before us affords an undeniable Inſtance. For whilſt *Alexius* was managing the War againſt the *Turks* with ſo much Conduct and Succeſs, he was diverted from the Proſecution of it, upon Advice of the Preparations *Robert Guiſchard*, Duke of *Pavia* and *Calabria*, was making againſt him in the Weſt; which made him think rather of ſecuring what ſtill remain'd of the Empire to his Succeſſors, than recovering thoſe Parts as had been wreſted from his Predeceſſors.

Robert Guiſchard *his Expedition againſt* Alexius.

This Expedition of *Robert* giving ground to ſeveral of *Alexius*'s Actions in the Series of his Reign, it will not be improper to make a particular Enquiry into the Reaſons for it. *Robert* was by Birth a *Norman*, the Son of *Tancred*, Lord of *Hauteville*; who having a numerous Family, and but a ſmall Eſtate, ſent his two eldeſt Sons, about the beginning of the eleventh Century, to try their Fortune in the Wars againſt the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where they behav'd themſelves with great Courage and Succeſs, and taking an Occaſion to be their own Paymaſters, they ſeiz'd on certain Places in *Pavia*, and ſending for their Brethren, they in time eſtabliſh'd their Dominion in *Italy*. *Robert*, the third Son, as he ſurviv'd moſt of his Brethren, ſo he prov'd the moſt fortunate. He, not content with *Pavia*, conquer'd the greateſt part of that Country which is now call'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and took upon himſelf the Title of Duke of *Pavia* and *Calabria*, which he enjoy'd many Years without a Competitor. Being a Prince of an aſpiring ambitious Temper, he perſuaded the Emperor *Michael Parapinaces* to betroth his young Son *Conſtantinus Ducas* to his Daughter, which *Michael*, who ſaw how much he ſtood in need of Foreign Aſſiſtance, readily conſented to; and having made his Eſcape into the Weſt, towards the

the end of *Botoniates* his Reign, he earneſtly ſolicited *Robert* and the Pope for his Reſtoration, which *Robert* very readily undertook. This is the Account left us by the *Latin* Writers, from whom the *Greeks* differ only in this, that it was not *Michael* himſelf who implor'd *Robert*'s Aſſiſtance, but a Monk call'd *Rætor*, ſuborn'd by *Robert* to perſonate that unhappy Prince, and thereby give a better Colour to his Undertaking.

Alexius, upon the firſt Advice of *Robert*'s Motions, diſpatch'd away *George Palæologus* to ſecure the City of *Dyrrachium*, and other Poſts in thoſe Parts; the Governors of which having not as yet ſworn Allegiance to him, gave him great Reaſon to ſuſpect they would with the firſt Opportunity revolt to his Enemy. At the ſame time he endeavour'd, by rich Preſents and large Promiſes, to ſtir up the Weſtern Princes againſt *Robert*, eſpecially *Henry* the *German* Emperor, with whom he offer'd to enter into the ſtricteſt Alliances, nor did he omit to make ſuch Proviſion at home as the Danger with which he was threaten'd indiſpenſibly requir'd. He ſent for all the Forces quarter'd in the Eaſt, except ſome few left for the Security of the Borders, and commanded the general Officers to make new Levies as they march'd along. By frequent Muſters, and large Donatives, he confirm'd the Minds of his Soldiers, and in every reſpect behav'd himſelf like a Prince who was ſenſible of the Power with which he was to contend, and the Dangers that naturally ariſe from Foreign Invaſions.

In the mean time *Robert*, having left his Son *Roger* as his Lieutenant in *Italy*, ſet ſail with all his Forces from *Brunduſium*, and landed at *Buthrotum* or *Butrinto* in *Epirus*, where he was join'd by his Son *Bohemond*, who having firſt landed at *Aulon*, a Sea-port Town in *Albania*, took it at the firſt Aſſault. Here *Robert* divided his Forces into two Bodies, with one of which he intended to proceed by Sea to *Dyrrachium*, whilſt his Son march'd towards it by Land at the Head of the

the other, resolving at once to besiege it by Land and Water. But *Robert* was hardly put out to Sea before he was overtaken with a furious Storm, which separated his Fleet, destroy'd several of his Ships, and suffer'd himself with great Difficulty to escape ashore; where reflecting on the Numbers of Men he had lost, he allow'd those that surviv'd seven Days time to refresh themselves, at a Place call'd *Glabinitza*, where that Body which his Son commanded came up to him, and some Troops that he had left behind at *Brundusium* and other Ports join'd him: So that being as he thought sufficiently reinforc'd, he sat down before *Dyrrachium* on the fourteenth of *June*, at the same time ordering his Fleet to approach it by Sea, being resolv'd to take it at what Price soever, as a Pledge of his future Conquests. *He besieges* Dyrrachium.

The Inhabitants of *Dyrrachium* were so terrify'd at the Approach of this Army, that 'tis very likely they had open'd the Gates to *Robert* at the first Summons, had they not been restrain'd by the great Courage and Authority of *Palæologus*, whose indefatigable Vigilance omitted nothing requisite to a vigorous Defence, or worthy the Trust the Emperor had repos'd in him; above all he took Care to inform *Alexius* of *Robert*'s Arrival, and the great Consternation the Country was in. The Emperor having agreed with *Solyman* for some Auxiliary *Turks*, after several Treaties with the *Venetians*, they undertook to fall on *Robert* by Sea, and defend *Dyrrachium* on that side. Accordingly they set sail with a numerous well appointed Navy, with whom *Robert*'s Son *Bohemond* engaging receiv'd an absolute Defeat, his own Ship and several others were sunk, and he himself narrowly escap'd. The *Venetians* having thus broken the Fleet landed on a sudden, and being join'd by *Palæologus* from the Town, they fell furiously upon *Robert*'s Men, whom they drove to their Tents, and then return'd to their Ships with a great Booty.

Nor

Nor was this the only Difficulty *Robert* had to contend with during this memorable Siege, for the *Venetians* having ſhortly after that given him a ſecond Defeat, grew ſo powerful at Sea, that his Ships could not ride there in any manner of Safety, ſo that he was oblig'd to draw 'em aſhore for their better Security. This threw him into a greater Inconvenience than any he had ſuffer'd before, for the Inhabitants of the Sea-port Towns, ſeeing him no longer Maſter at Sea, refus'd him their uſual Contributions; and he being unable to receive any Proviſions out of *Italy*, a great Famine rag'd in his Camp, which was ſucceeded by a Peſtilential Diſeaſe ocaſion'd by the change of Air, which is ſaid to have deſtroy'd upwards of ten thouſand in three Months time; it rag'd particularly amongſt his Horſe, the very Flower of his Army, and carry'd off moſt of his chief Officers and prime Nobility: So that had he not been a Prince of an unſhaken Conſtancy, he never would have perſiſted in the Purſuit of an Enterprize, whoſe Beginning ſeem'd to diſcourage him with ſo many fatal Diſappointments.

However, finding by Experience how neceſſary it was for him to have the Sea open, he once more with great Difficulty launch'd his Ships, and apply'd himſelf with new Vigour to the Proſecution of the Siege. And the Emperor, finding by repeated Advices how hardly the Beſieg'd were preſs'd, having left his Brother *Iſaac* at *Conſtantinople*, to obſerve the Temper of the People, and reſtrain ſuch as ſhould be found to attempt any Innovations, he ſet forward to *Theſſalonica*, where he was join'd by *Pacurianus* and the Forces under his Command; and having receiv'd freſh Advices from *Palæologus*, urging him to a timely Relief, he immediately march'd towards *Dyrrachium*, and encamp'd on a riſing Ground at ſome diſtance from the Town, having the Sea on the Left, and a very high Mountain on the Right. Here he entrench'd himſelf, and held a Council of War, at which *Palæologus* was ſummon'd to aſſiſt; and after a ſerious Debate it was reſolv'd

resolv'd to fight the Enemy, contrary to the Advice of the eldest and most experienc'd Commanders in the Army, and *Alexius* gave the necessary Orders accordingly. *Robert* on his side was so far from being terrify'd at the Emperor's Presence, and his Preparations for an Engagement, that he commanded his Men to sink their Ships, and burn their Camp-Equipage, giving 'em thereby to understand there was no Medium left between Death and Conquest, that one would free 'em from the want of what they were now destroying, and the other supply 'em abundantly with all things from their Enemies. At first the Emperor's Forces had the Advantage, and drove a Body of *Robert*'s Troops towards the Sea, which put the whole Army into some Disorder; but they being again restor'd by the Masculine Behaviour of *Gaita*, *Robert*'s Wife, and the *Pallas* of her Age, they fell with so much Violence upon those who just before seem'd to have so great an Advantage over them, that they fled with great Precipitation to a Church dedicated to St. *Michael*, which stood not far from the Place of Battel, whither they were pursu'd by the victorious *Latins*, who set Fire to the Sacred Pile, and destroy'd both that and their Enemies. By this time *Robert*, whose Courage and Conduct were equally to be admir'd upon that Occasion, made an Impression upon the main Body of the *Roman* Army, which after a short but hot Dispute was defeated and put to Flight. *Alexius* had in all likelihood maintain'd the Field longer than he did, had it not been for the Auxiliary *Turks*, who kept themselves entire and unbroken during the Heat of the Engagement, but as soon as they found the Victory enclining to the *Latins*, they suddenly drew off and march'd back towards their own Country, which added to the Confusion the *Romans* were already in, and confirm'd the Overthrow. *defeats the Emperor,*

Alexius his Loss was not more considerable for the Numbers than the Quality of the Slain, among whom were *Constantius* the Son of *Constantinus Ducas*, *Nicephorus*

phorus Synademus, and *Nicephorus Palæologus*, the Father of *George*, with ſeveral others of the Prime Nobility. The Emperor himſelf was one of the laſt that turn'd his Back, and therefore eſcap'd with the greater Difficulty to *Achris*; of which when *Robert* was inform'd, he grew ſo incens'd againſt thoſe he had ſent to purſue him, that he order'd one of 'em to run the Gantlet, and gave the reſt ſignal Marks of his Diſpleaſure, ſo ſure he thought himſelf of the Emperor's Perſon, which would have compleated a Victory of it ſelf ſo very conſiderable; for it had made him Maſter of the Emperor's Pavillion, the *Roman* Camp and all their Baggage; and ſhortly after of *Dyrrachium*, which was ſurrender'd up to him at his next Summons. Here he ſpent ſome time in the Refreſhment of his Troops, in the Recovery of the wounded, and the rewarding thoſe who had behav'd themſelves well in the Engagement.

and takes the Town;

which reduces Alexius *to great Neceſſities.*

Tho' a Wound the Emperor had receiv'd in his Forehead was exceeding troubleſome, yet that of his Mind was more inſupportable; his Army was ſo weaken'd that he found it impoſſible to take the Field again without new Levies; and his own improvident Liberality, and the Profuſeneſs of the late Emperor *Botoniates*, had ſo impoveriſh'd the Treaſury, that thoſe Levies could not be rais'd without a ſeeming Miracle: So that the *Roman* Empire lay under two Difficulties, at that time eſpecially the moſt dangerous, Weakneſs and Poverty. In this Extremity, the Emperor thought once of quitting the Purple, which he found encumber'd with ſo many Cares; but receiving freſh Encouragement from his Mother and the reſt of the *Comneni*, who ſent all their Plate to the Mint, and having ſeiz'd on great Quantities of that which belong'd to the Church, to the great Scandal of his Clergy, he prepar'd for freſh Recruits, and to draw ſome of his Neighbours into his Quarrel, eſpecially *Henry* the *German* Emperor, whom he perſuaded to invade *Robert*'s Territories, hoping ſuch a Diverſion would

would give him ſome time to breathe, and enable him in the End to drive him out of *Illyricum*. Accordingly *Henry*, purſuant to the Agreement between 'em, mov'd with his Army towards *Italy*; of which when *Robert* was inform'd, being ſenſible of the Danger to which his Dominions would be expos'd, ſhould they be invaded during his Abſence, he inſtantly ſummon'd a Council of War, where having declar'd his Son *Bohemond* to command as his Lieutenant in the Eaſt, and recommended him to the General Officers of the Army, he departed for *Italy*; and having reliev'd the Pope, who was cloſely beſieg'd by the Imperialiſts in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, he conſtrain'd *Henry* to quit *Italy*, and retook *Rome* from the Schiſmaticks; after which he retir'd to *Salernum*, there to refreſh himſelf, and expect the Event of *Bohemond*'s Arms in the Eaſt, where he ſucceſsfully puſh'd on the War againſt *Alexius*: For as ſoon as his Father was departed he muſter'd his Forces, which he found conſiderably ſtrengthen'd by the Acceſſion of ſeveral *Romans*, who, diſhearten'd at the late Defeat, had deſerted the Emperor and declar'd for the Victor; after which he took in ſeveral Towns and Places of Conſequence, which he had time to fortifie before the Emperor was able to move to their Aſſiſtance. At length *Alexius*, perceiving he had only chang'd the General, and not remov'd the War, march'd from *Conſtantinople* at the Head of ſuch Forces as he had been able to draw together, and was readily offer'd Battel by *Bohemond*, who once more overthrew him, and chas'd him a ſecond time to *Achris*; where having again recruited his Army, he was yet a third time overthrown and forc'd to fly, and implore the Aſſiſtance of *Solyman* the *Turk*, who ſent him ſeven thouſand of his Veteran Troops, under the Command of his moſt experienc'd Officers.

In the mean time *Bohemond*, having taken in ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Towns in *Theſſaly*, was ſate down before *Lareſſa*, which was defended for ſix Months

Months together by *Leo Cephalas*, who thereby gave *Alexius* time to march up to its Relief; and he having been ſo often defeated by the *Latins*, who were always ſuperior to him in Horſe, he endeavour'd, according to his Method formerly, to obtain that by Stratagem which he had in vain attempted by open Force. In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that having drawn the *Latins* into an Ambuſcade, he cut off great Numbers of 'em, and took their Camp; and tho' in the end *Bohemond* ſeem'd to have the better of the Day, yet *Alexius* tamper'd ſo effectually with his chief Officers, that he was forc'd ſhortly after to retire to his Father into *Italy*, either for freſh Forces to recruit his Army, or Money to pay 'em, they refuſing to continue the War 'till they had receiv'd their Arrears.

Alexius's Artifice.

A. D. 1083. *Alexius*, making uſe of *Bohemond*'s Abſence, recover'd ſeveral Towns that the Fortune of the War had wreſted from him; and hearing what great Preparations *Robert* was forming againſt him, he once more crav'd the Aid of the *Venetians* his Confederates, to which they readily accorded, and mann'd out a powerful Fleet for his Aſſiſtance; which, being join'd to the Emperor's, overthrew *Robert* in two Engagements, but were ſhortly after ſurpriz'd by him, as they lay ſecure in the Confidence of their own Strength, and Contempt of his Forces, and receiv'd an abſolute Defeat, which he us'd with the greateſt Barbarity, depriving ſome of thoſe he took Priſoners of their Eyes, others of their Hands and Feet, and putting others to unheard-of Torments; at which the *Venetians* were ſo provok'd, that they ſhortly after rigg'd out another Fleet, and fell on *Robert* as he lay at Anchor near *Buthrinto*, burnt or ſunk moſt of his Ships, and had like to have taken his Wife and younger Son Priſoners; notwithſtanding which he prepar'd with an invincible Courage to refit his Fleet, and revenge himſelf upon his Enemies, but dy'd of a Feaver in the Iſland of *Cephalenia*, in the twenty ſixth Year of his Eſtabliſhment of the *Normans* in *Italy*, and the ſeventy

Robert dies.

ſeventy ninth of his Age; after whoſe Death *Dyrrachium*, and the other Towns in thoſe Parts, return'd to the Emperor.

Alexius being, by the Death of *Robert*, deliver'd from a dangerous and expenſive War, found himſelf at leiſure to obſerve the Proceedings of the *Turks*, whoſe inteſtine Diviſions ſeem'd to offer him ſome fair Advantages againſt 'em; which proceeded no farther than to the Recovery of a few Maritime Towns, and ſome Advantages over *Apelchaſemus*, the pretended Sultan of *Nice*, which Place the Emperor in vain deſir'd, and attempted to get into his Hands; for he was at the ſame time clogg'd with the Reſentments of his Clergy, who being upon good Grounds offended at him for his Invading the Goods of the Church, gave him a ſufficient Trouble, which was not well compos'd before a War broke out with the *Scythians*, who threaten'd the Empire with new Dangers; for having paſs'd the *Danube*, and being invited into the *Roman* Territories by the diſcontented *Manichees*, they did great Miſchief where-ever they came. *The Scythian War.* Againſt theſe the Emperor ſent *Pacurianus*, who being join'd in Commiſſion afterwards with *Branas*, a valiant, but hot-headed, unthinking Officer, was forc'd to fight with unequal Numbers contrary to his own Judgment, and was kill'd in the Action, together with his unhappy Collegue, to the exceeding great Grief of the Emperor, who had a moſt particular Eſteem for *Pacurianus* upon the account of his conſummate Experience, and approv'd Fidelity. However he immediately appointed *Talicius*, or *Talin*, who had lately commanded with Succeſs againſt the *Turks*, to ſucceed him in the Service. *Talicius* engag'd 'em near *Philippopolis*, and having ſlain a great Number of 'em in the Battel put the reſt to Flight, concluding, tho' his Victory ſeem'd entire, the Service was not yet over, but that freſh Supplies, which he knew the Barbarians could not long want, would quickly draw him to a ſecond Engagement. Accordingly he was

ſhortly after inform'd by his Scouts, that the *Scythians* were approaching with redoubled Forces; whereupon he drew up his Men in Order of Battel, and ſtood prepar'd to receive 'em: Tho' the *Scythians*, by their approach, ſeem'd deſirous of an Engagement, and the *Romans* appear'd ready to give 'em Battel; yet after they had both view'd each other for two Days together, the *Scythians* retir'd with ſo much Order and Expedition, that the *Romans*, who were far inferior to 'em in Numbers of Men, found it in vain to purſue 'em.

The *Scythians* the Spring following renew'd their Incurſions, and grew in time ſo conſiderable, that the Emperor thought it proper to march againſt 'em in Perſon. Accordingly he remov'd from the Imperial City to *Adrianople*, and from thence to a Place call'd *Lardea*, where, having muſter'd his Forces, he prepar'd to engage, contrary to the Advice of his moſt experienc'd Captains, eſpecially of *Bryennius* before-mention'd, who tho' he had loſt his Eyes by Order from *Botoniates*, as had been before obſerv'd, was ſtill highly eſteem'd for his extraordinary Knowledge and Affection to the preſent Emperor. But *Alexius* being guided more by his own Inclinations, and the Heat of the younger Officers, reſolv'd to fight; and tho' the Victory for ſome time ſeem'd to incline to the *Romans*, whoſe Commanders are ſaid to have done Wonders upon that Occaſion, yet the *Scythians*, being by much ſuperior in Numbers, at length turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and put the *Romans* to flight, in which many were ſlain, and the Emperor himſelf eſcap'd with great Difficulty to *Beroe*, where he receiv'd a ſurprizing Account of the great Numbers the *Scythians* had taken Captive, all which were however ſhortly after redeem'd. After this a Peace was frequently concluded, and as often broken by the irreconcilable *Scythians*, to the great Danger and apparent Ruin of the Empire. For the *Turks* obſerving the main Forces of the Empire were, in

in a great Measure, directed against those *Barbarians* who however continu'd unconquer'd, seiz'd suddenly on *Clazomena*, *Phocæa*, *Metylene*, and *Methymna*, Places of considerable Importance in *Asia*, and afterwards the Island of *Chios*, which tho' the *Romans* attempted to recover, yet were they in the End forc'd to raise the Siege, and had like to have lost their Fleet. This oblig'd the Emperor to draw some of his Forces out of the West, and to send 'em under the Conduct of *John Ducas*, Brother to the Empress, against the prevailing *Turks*, who threaten'd otherwise to bear all before them; whilst he, in the mean time, pursu'd the War against the *Scythians* in Person, which was prolong'd partly by the Obstinacy of his declar'd Enemies, but more through the Treachery of his pretended Friends. Among these was *Neantzes*, a *Scythian* by Nation, who deserted to the Emperor almost at the beginning of the War, and express'd himself, upon all Occasions, full of Duty and Respect, but took care to betray all the Emperor's Designs to his Countrymen; of which when he was accus'd by one, who, being of a mix'd Birth, understood both Languages, and heard *Neantzes* entertaining a traiterous Conference with the *Barbarian* Commanders, instead of vindicating himself to *Alexius*, and confuting his Accuser, he drew his Scymiter in the Emperor's Presence, and at the Head of the Army slew the Informer, which was so far from removing the Suspicion of the Crimes objected to him, that it gave great Credit to the Information. However, both Armies being ready to engage, the Emperor thought fit to defer a farther Enquiry 'till the Battel was over, and by that means give him an Opportunity of Deserting at the first Charge, and of discovering to his Countrymen the Disposition of the *Roman* Forces, which occasion'd their Defeat.

This Disgrace was wiped out by a considerable Advantage over the *Barbarians* obtain'd shortly after, which however did not hinder 'em from renewing

their Attempts the Spring following, when with freſh Forces they aſſaulted the Empire. But now Fortune ſeem'd determin'd againſt 'em, for the *Romans* overthrew 'em in two Engagements with little or no Loſs to themſelves; and tho' they had afterwards the Confidence to make their Excurſions almoſt as far as the Walls of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, and gave the Emperor great Reaſon to apprehend the *Turks* would become Confederates with them in the War, yet at length their frequent Advantages and barbarous Confidence had ſo effectually blinded 'em, that *Alexius* watch'd his Opportunity, and in a pitch'd Battel did ſuch Execution upon 'em that few eſcap'd; they who did not fall in the Fight, were murder'd in cold Blood, the Women and Children ſharing in the ſame Fate with their adventrous Husbands and Fathers.

A great Victory obtain'd againſt the Scythians.

This Victory, which may be allow'd to be the moſt compleat *Alexius* ever obtain'd, put an End to the War; after which the Emperor ſpent ſome time in ſettling the Affairs of the Provinces in the Weſt, and then prepar'd to manage the War in Perſon againſt the *Turks*, which had hitherto been conducted with various Succeſs by the Care of *John Ducas*, his Brother-in-Law. The Great Leader of the *Turks* was call'd *Tzachas*, who being poſſeſs'd of the City of *Smyrna*, began there to exerciſe a Regal Authority independent of the Sultan or the Emperor, and by degrees became ſo powerful, that he ſtruck a Terror into the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf: Wherefore *Alexius*, as we obſerv'd before, ſent *John Ducas*, his Commander in Chief, to oppoſe him, and with him *Conſtantinus Delaſſenus*, who had a Command of the Fleet ſubordinate to the other, who was to aſſault *Metylene*, and ſuch other Places as he lately wreſted from the Empire by Sea, whilſt *John* attack'd it by Land. In the mean time *Tzachas* had committed *Metylene* to the Cuſtody of his Brother, whilſt he with a ſelect Army kept abroad, watching the Motions of his Enemies, and intent upon all Occaſions

Alexius his Wars with the Turks.

casions to support and succour his Friends; and *Ducas* acted with so much Vigour against him, that almost every Day, for three Months together, the *Romans* were either employ'd against the Walls of *Metylene*, or engag'd with *Tzachas*, by which continu'd Services they grew so exceeding weak, that without some timely Reinforcements, they were in danger of being all cut off. Of this when *Alexius* was inform'd, and that the Fight generally began in the Morning, at which time the *Romans* fought with the Sun constantly in their Faces, he sent Orders to *John* to spare his Men as much as possible, and rather to make choice of the Evening, as a Season more convenient for an Engagement. This Order was successfully observ'd by *John*; for when the *Turks* the next Morning, according to the Custom, drew out to fight, and observ'd the *Romans* to keep within their Entrenchments, as if they were celebrating some Festival, they retir'd, and with a too forward Security laid down their Arms. But as soon as the Sun had pass'd his Meridian Point, and began to decline, the *Romans* issu'd out in exact Order of Battle, and tho' the *Turks* little expected them, yet they prepar'd to receive 'em. The Fight was manag'd at first with equal Obstinacy on both Sides, till the *Turks*, who fought as well against the Sun, whose Beams mightily incommoded 'em, and a violent Wind, which blew the Dust full into their Faces, as they did against their Enemies, gave Ground, and fled away. This Defeat made *Tzachas* incline to a Peace, which was concluded between him and *Ducas* shortly after. The Conditions were, That *Tzachas* should have free Liberty to retire by Sea from *Metylene* to *Smyrna*, and that on the other Hand he would not oblige any of the Inhabitans at his Departure to go with him, nor injure 'em in their Persons or Estates. These Terms being mutually agreed to, and Hostages deliver'd on both Sides, the *Turk* was so far from a Performance, that he forc'd several of the Inhabitants to attend him: Immediately upon this

Delaſſenus arriv'd before *Metylene*, and being inform'd of *Tzachas* his perfidious Dealings, he ſail'd ſpeedily after him, overtook, defeated, and ſunk or ſeiz'd on moſt of his Piratical Ships, kill'd thoſe that mann'd 'em, and releas'd the Captives; nor would *Tzachas* himſelf have eſcap'd, if the crafty *Turk*, apprehenſive of the Danger, had not embark'd himſelf on Board a ſmall Pinnace, inſtead of a Ship of Burden, and ſo eluded the Diligence of the Purſuers.

Being arriv'd at *Smyrna*, his reſtleſs Mind threw him upon new Attempts, which at laſt ended in his Deſtruction. He gave Orders for a new Fleet to be prepar'd, and ſupply'd with all the Materials requiſite for his intended Expedition, and in the mean time he ſate down with a reſolute Army before *Abydos*, of which he hop'd to be Maſter in a few Days. But the Emperor having again declar'd *Delaſſenus* Admiral of his Fleet, upon the firſt News of *Tzachas* his Preparations, alarm'd the Sultan by his Letters writ to that purpoſe, in which he repreſented to him *the dangerous Ambition of* Tzachas, *who tho' he openly pretended his Deſigns were wholly againſt the* Romans, *at whoſe Empire he aim'd, yet that was no other than a Maſk to cover his more ſecret Contrivances. The* Roman *Empire was too far out of his reach ever to attain it; that therefore tho' his Attempts were at preſent againſt that, he had the Sultan's Dignity in view, which he would make no ſcruple of Invading ſo ſoon as his preſent Succeſſes ſhould have ſtrengthen'd him ſufficiently for it; that therefore it behov'd him to conſider him as his moſt dangerous Enemy, and join with the* Romans *in the Suppreſſion of him, which would be an Undertaking no leſs prudent and honourable in him, than acceptable to the Emperor.*

The Sultan's Jealouſie was quickly alarm'd at the Receipt of this Letter, ſo that he immediately march'd with his whole Army againſt *Tzachas*; who, being preſs'd by *Delaſſenus* from the Sea, and the Sultan by Land, and fearing leſt the Inhabitants of *Abydos* would ſally upon him from the Town, at the ſame time that his Enemies aſſaulted him from without, in this Extremity

tremity he attempted to reconcile himself to the Sultan, who for that he was his Father-in-Law, and he ignorant of the Letter the Sultan had receiv'd from *Alexius*, he hop'd would be the sooner persuaded to receive him into Favour. The Sultan at first receiv'd him very graciously, and invited him to an Entertainment, where, in the midst of his Mirth, he order'd him to be murder'd, and shortly after concluded a Peace with the Emperor, which restor'd Tranquility to those Parts.

Tzachas murder'd by the Sultan's Order.

The War being thus extinguish'd in the East, broke out again presently after in the West, where *Bolcanus a Dalmatian*, a Man of principal Authority in that Country, infested the *Roman* Territories, and laid all waste before him; and tho', upon the Emperor's Approach, he pretended to submit, and promis'd to live peaceably for the future, yet *Alexius* was no sooner return'd to *Constantinople*, but he renew'd his Hostilities, and committed greater Outrages than he had done before. The Emperor at first sent *Joannes Comnenus*, his Brother's Son, against him, whom, being young and unexperienc'd, the crafty *Barbarian* easily circumvented. He fell upon him suddenly by Night, destroy'd most of his Men, and forc'd him to a dishonourable Flight: After which he renew'd his Devastations, and did unspeakable Mischief to the Territories of the Empire, which made *Alexius* undertake a second Expedition against him, in which he was attended by the Flower of his Army; among whom none seem'd more zealous for his Service than *Nicephorus Diogenes*, tho' it afterwards appear'd that his loyal Outside serv'd only to gild over his treacherous Designs. This *Nicephorus* was Son to the late Emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, who together with him left another Son behind him call'd *Leo*: These Brothers had been banish'd by *Michael Ducas*, but restor'd by *Alexius*, who advanc'd 'em to honourable Employments, and always appear'd well inclin'd towards 'em, of which *Leo* was truly sensible, but *Diogenes* his aspiring Spirit would

A Design against the Emperor's Life.

would not ſuffer him to be grateful. His ambitious Deſigns had been often diſcover'd, and as often pardon'd by the Emperor; who at length finding he had been waſhing the *Æthiop* white, that *Diogenes* inſtead of being reclaim'd continu'd to purſue his treacherous Ends, and ſeduc'd ſeveral of Power and Reputation to adhere to him, he then thought it time to provide for his own Safety; and being inform'd of a Deſign he had to murder him as he was bathing himſelf in this Expedition, he order'd him, and the moſt forward and dangerous of his Accomplices, to be ſeiz'd, which was done accordingly, and their Eyes were pluck'd out, whether with the Emperor's Knowledge and Approbation 'tis left uncertain. *Diogenes*, when firſt he was ſeiz'd, was put to the Torture, which drew a Confeſſion from him, by which among other things it appear'd that the late Empreſs *Mary*, whoſe Husband was *Nicephorus* his half-Brother, had been privy to the intended Revolt, but not to the Aſſaſſination. Of which when the Emperor was inform'd he was ſo far from reſenting it, that he forbad any farther Mention to be made of it, and either would not believe it, or imputed it rather to the importunate Sollicitations of *Nicephorus*, than any Natural Diſpoſition of that Princeſs againſt him. *Nicephorus* having thus loſt his Sight was comforted and ſupported by the indulgent Emperor, who allow'd him a liberal Exhibition, by means of which he apply'd himſelf to Learning, and made a greater Proficiency than moſt others could have done with Advantage of their Eyes againſt him, eſpecially in Geometry, in the Study of which the Sight is ſo particularly uſeful; in this he was aſſiſted by a celebrated Maſter, who deſcrib'd the Figure upon Wood, or ſome other ſolid Matter, by which means his Pupil with a wonderful Progreſs obtain'd that by the Uſe of his Fingers, which others acquir'd by the Eye. However he was not ſo entirely employ'd in theſe Studies, but ſtill Ambition and the Deſire of Revenge raged within

diſcover'd, and puniſhed.

within him, and thruſt him on to new Attempts; in which he proceeded ſo far, that by a ſtrange Infatuation he diſcover'd himſelf to ſome whom he thought his Friends, and ready to eſpouſe his Intereſt, one of whom diſcloſed it to the Emperor, who ſending for *Diogenes* obtain'd a ſincere Confeſſion from him, and once more pardon'd him.

The late Conſpiracy being detected in the Field in a manner, and at the Head of the Army which *Alexius* was leading againſt the Enemies of the Empire, 'tis incredible to relate how much Horror the Soldiers conceiv'd at the Senſe of it, how careful they appear'd for the Safety of the Emperor's Perſon, and with what Chearfulneſs they deſir'd to be led againſt the *Barbarians*: Of which when *Bolcanus* was inform'd, and obſerving the Order of the *Roman* Forces, he grew doubtful of Succeſs, and therefore once more offer'd Propoſals for a Peace, promiſing moſt religiouſly to obſerve it when concluded. In this he ſeem'd ſo ſincere, that the Emperor having receiv'd his Hoſtages condeſcended to a Peace, and return'd to *Conſtantinople*, where he had not long reſted before freſh Attempts againſt the Empire call'd him abroad again.

The Scythians *renew the War.*

Tho' the *Scythians* had continu'd quiet ſince the laſt Peace, yet it appear'd that it proceeded rather from the want of a Pretence, than an Inclination to a Rupture, which was now offer'd to 'em by an Impoſtor, who pretending to be *Leo*, the eldeſt Son of the late Emperor *Diogenes*, of whom mention has been made already, and who was ſlain in an Engagement with the *Turks*, laid Claim to the Empire. This Impoſtor came firſt poor and deſpicable to *Conſtantinople*, where he inſinuated himſelf into the Acquaintance of ſuch as were fit for his Purpoſe, to whom he boldly declar'd he was that *Leo*. The Emperor at firſt rather laugh'd at the Folly, than reſented the Inſolence of the Thing, but obſerving how his Followers encreas'd, and that the Relations of the late Emperor *Diogenes* were provok'd at the Indignity this Uſurper offer'd

their

their Family, he baniſh'd him to *Cherſona*, where he order'd him to be kept in ſtrict Cuſtody; from whence however he eſcap'd by Night, and fled over to the *Scythians*, who joyfully receiv'd him, and proclaim'd him Emperor. And now having, as they thought, got an Emperor of their own to warrant their Proceedings, they prepar'd with much Caution and Secrecy to fall into the *Roman* Territories; of which however *Alexius* had timely Advice, and took care for the Security of the Borders, which he viſited in Perſon, and ſupply'd the Frontier Towns with all things neceſſary for their Defence, after which he return'd to *Anchialus* a City of *Thrace* ſeated upon the *Euxine* Sea. Here he was inform'd that the *Barbarians* had paſs'd the *Danube*, and had taken in ſeveral Towns in their March, where the Uſurper was proclaim'd Emperor: Having therefore given the neceſſary Orders for the Security of *Adrianople*, he reſolv'd himſelf to defend *Anchialus*; whither the pretended *Leo* march'd with his Army of *Barbarians*, propoſing inſtantly to take that and the Emperor with it, and by that means make an end of the War at once. Here when both Armies had view'd each other for three Days together without coming to Blows, for the Emperor had the Advantage of the Ground, tho' the *Scythians* were more numerous, and the *Barbarians* ſaw they muſt of neceſſity venture a Battel before they could come near enough to the Town, they drew off, and march'd towards *Adrianople*, of which the Impoſtor pretended himſelf to be very ſure, by the Intereſt he had in *Nicephorus Bryennius* who commanded in it, who he ſaid had been highly oblig'd by his Father *Diogenes* when Emperor, adding, that from thence they might eaſily march up to the Imperial City. The credulous *Barbarians* believing all he ſaid, thought themſelves already Maſters of the *Roman* Empire, and ſo ſet out for *Adrianople*; where notwithſtanding the Hopes they had conceiv'd of *Bryennius*, they met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that hardly one Day paſs'd for

near

near seven Weeks together wherein some considerable Action did not happen. At length the Besieged began to be so hardly press'd that *Bryennius* sent to the Emperor to let him know the Condition he was in, and *Alexius* made all possible speed to relieve him. In the mean time an Officer of the Army, a bold and resolute Man call'd *Alacaseus*, made use of a Stratagem which prov'd highly serviceable to the Emperor; for he, like *Zopyrus* of old, tore off his Beard, mangled his Face, and in a cruel manner disfigur'd his whole Body, in which lamentable Condition he betook himself to the Usurper, who with much Surprize ask'd him what he was on whom so much Cruelty had been exercis'd. *Alacaseus* reply'd, that *he was the Son of one who had been united in an inviolable Friendship to his Majesty's Father, upon which Account* Alexius *had thus inhumanly us'd him; that he was come over to his Majesty as his Protector, conjuring him by the Memory of both their Fathers to revenge their mutual Injuries upon the Head of him who with-held his Majesty's undoubted Right from him.* The Usurper, to whose Ears the Appellation of *Majesty* sounded very grateful, easily believ'd all he said, listen'd to his Advice, and repos'd an entire Confidence in him. Having thus prepar'd him, by vertue of some specious Pretences he entic'd him and a Company of his *Scythian* Followers into a Castle subject to the Emperor, from whom the Captain that commanded in it had receiv'd Orders to observe the Instructions he should receive from *Alacaseus*! Here the Mock Prince was receiv'd as into a Place betray'd to him, and being invited to a Banquet the *Barbarians* drank to that Excess, that their Horses and Arms were first seiz'd, and afterwards themselves, being unable to make any Resistance. *Alexius* hearing the Usurper was taken, march'd against the *Scythians*, with whom he engag'd, and slew seven thousand upon the Spot, and took three thousand Prisoners. After which he return'd to *Adrianople*, there to treat with the *Scythian* Ambassadors who came with Offers of Peace, which they

An advantageous Stratagem.

The Scythians *are overthrown.*

they seemingly desir'd, only that their Forces might have time to withdraw into Places of Security, from whence, as soon as they had been refresh'd and recruited, they intended with fresh Vigour to renew the War. But the Emperor, being sensible of their Design, pursu'd 'em with great Diligence, overthrew 'em in two Engagements, entirely broke their Troops, and return'd with a great Booty, which he divided among those who had distinguish'd themselves most in the Service.

The Emperor, being return'd to *Constantinople*, was preparing to restrain the Incursions of the *Turks*, who threaten'd the City of *Nicomedia*, when he receiv'd Information of the Preparations the Western Christians were making for the Recovery of the Holy-Land. And since the Fortunes of those Adventurers bear so near a Relation to the ensuing Part of this History, it may not be judg'd improper to give the Reader a brief Account what it was that first gave Motion to that mighty Undertaking.

A. D. 1093. *The Holy War.*

Among the many Pilgrims that continually resorted from all Parts of *Europe* to visit the Holy-Land, a *French* Man of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, whose Name was *Peter*, about the Year 1093 took a Voyage to *Jerusalem*, there to perform his Devotions where the Redemption of Mankind had been effected: Here the miserable Condition to which he saw the Christians reduc'd through the Tyranny of the *Turks*, under which all *Asia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and the City of *Jerusalem* groan'd, made him deliberate upon some Means for the Delivery of God's People from their cruel Servitude, and remove those Infidels from the most Holy Places, where they had sacrilegiously tyranniz'd for five hundred Years together. Upon Examination he found the Eastern Empire in too weak a Condition to give him any Hopes of Assistance and Redress, which were no where to be expected but from the West; and therefore being a Man of Resolution and Courage, as well as zealous for God's Service, he undertook

dertook to inform the Pope and the Princes of the West of the deplorable Condition of the Christians in the Holy-Land, and represent it in so lively a Figure to 'em, as would effectually unite 'em in a generous Resolution to break off the Manacles of their Slavery, and deliver 'em from the tyrannick Yoke of the Enemies of Jesus Christ. Accordingly having receiv'd Letters from the Patriarch to that Purpose, he got on board the first Merchant-Ship he met, and happily arriv'd at the Port of *Bari*, from whence he proceeded to the Court of *Rome*, where he addrest himself to the Pope, and having deliver'd him the Patriarch's Letters, he found in the Pope all the Inclinations he could wish to favour an Enterprize so illustrious, so advantageous to the Glory of God, so necessary to the Good of all Christendom, and which would render his Pontificate renown'd to all Posterity. Having receiv'd the Encouragement he very well deserv'd from the Pope, he travell'd over the greatest Part of *Europe*, treating in particular with most Princes, and in less than a Year's time inflam'd the Hearts of all Men with such a Desire to share in the Glory of redeeming the Holy-Land, that both Princes and People embrac'd the Design with an equal Ardor, and long'd for an Opportunity of being engag'd in this Religious War. Urban II.

The Pope being inform'd by his industrious Hermit of the general Disposition he found in the Minds of Men to it, first summon'd the Council of *Placentia*, where Provisions were made for the Peace of the Church, and the People were render'd sensible of the Danger Christianity in general was in from the prevailing Arms of the Infidels, which had miserably over-run the Eastern Empire; and shortly after in a Council celebrated at *Clermont*, some things were decreed as were thought necessarily previous to it, and then the Holy War was unanimously resolv'd upon, and the Crusade publish'd by the Pope, and generally embrac'd throughout the West. A. D. 1095.

The

The Princes of the Crusade.

The Princes, who were to be the chief Commanders in this Religious Expedition, were *Hugh* the Great, Brother to *Philip* the First of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Thoulouse*, *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, with his Brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustace*; and others whose Names are particularly mention'd by such as have written the History of this Holy War. Most of these Princes, who had not Treasures sufficient to maintain Armies equal to so great an Enterprize, generously sold or mortgag'd their Patrimonies, which it is observable were generally purchas'd by the Bishops, who thereby suffer'd the Secular Princes to impoverish themselves to serve Jesus Christ, whilst they enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of those Temporal Potentates.

'Tis incredible to relate the Numbers that voluntarily listed themselves upon this Occasion; Women, as well as Men; the Peasant, as well as him that had born Arms already; the Superstitious, and the Devout; the Old, and the Young; all united in the same Service, tho' some of 'em enter'd into it upon different Views: Which when *Godfrey*, who was the first that advanc'd towards *Constantinople*, where their general Rendezvous was appointed the Year following, observ'd, and fearing he should be clogg'd by a Multitude of unprofitable People, who were more likely to destroy him by Famine, than assist him by the Sword, he contrived to send 'em before under the Conduct of the Hermit *Peter*, with the Opinion of whose Sanctity they were so prepossess'd, and seem'd so charm'd with his Looks, and enchanted with his Words, that he thought he should have a Sovereign Power over them, and therefore readily accepted of the Command, and was declar'd Captain-General of this first Army of the Crusades, which had Orders to advance first towards *Constantinople*.

Peter the Hermit begins the Expedition.

This Army *Peter* divided into two Bodies, one of which he led himself, and committed the other to the Conduct of a *French* Gentleman call'd *Gautier*, a good

Captain,

Captain, but being a Soldier of Fortune was firnam'd *the Moneyless*. *Gautier* began his March on the eighteenth Day of *March*, and having passed through *Germany* with great Difficulty enter'd into *Hungary*, through which *Carloman* the King of that Country, being himself a Christian, permitted him a Liberty of Passage, provided his Men paid for what they had; notwithstanding which, being refus'd Provisions upon the Frontiers of *Bulgaria*, they liv'd at Discretion, and plunder'd the Country; whereupon the Inhabitants taking up Arms, to the Number of an hundred and forty thousand Men, fell upon these unhappy Adventurers, kill'd great Numbers of 'em, and forc'd the rest to suffer the utmost Extremities of Hunger and Cold among the Woods; 'till the Prince of *Bulgaria* compassionating their Miseries, furnish'd 'em with Guides, who conducted 'em to *Constantinople*, where they waited for the Arrival of *Peter*, who did not join them 'till the first of *August*, having been more unfortunate in his March than his Precursor: For *Carloman* having granted him the same Liberty he had done the other upon the same Conditions, *Peter* undertook an Action which neither became him as an Hermit or a Christian, and which sufficiently manifested how much God was offended at him, for transgressing the Bounds of his Profession, and undertaking a Charge which did in no wise belong to him. He had with him about forty thousand Foot, and a good Number of Horse, which observ'd his Orders well enough at his first setting out, but being arriv'd at *Malleville*, a good Town upon the Frontier of *Hungary*, under a Pretence of revenging the Injuries which some of the Soldiers of the first Army had receiv'd there, he took it by Storm, contrary to his Faith given, and put four thousand *Hungarians* to the Sword; which Example of their General authoriz'd the rest of the Army to measure out their own Revenge, so that there was no manner of Excess, no sort of Crimes, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Robberies, Murder, Fire, or

A. D. 1096.

His unhappy Conduct.

or any kind of Violence, which theſe brutiſh Dregs of *France*, *Lorrain* and *Germany* did not commit in their March through *Hungary* and the Confines of *Bulgaria*; at which the Inhabitants were ſo juſtly exaſperated, that they took all Occaſions to fall upon them, and finding 'em in a diſorderly March they ſlew above ten thouſand of 'em upon the Place, took all their Baggage, their Proviſions, their Wives, Children, and the old Men who could not fly, together with two thouſand Waggons, among which were thoſe that carry'd *Peter*'s Treaſure, deſign'd to pay them who had ſo unadviſedly paid themſelves. *Peter* rally'd the reſt with great Difficulty, and got with much ado to his Comrades at *Conſtantinople*, where the Emperor receiv'd him with a ſeeming Friendſhip, and having learnt from him the Quality of the Princes who were to be the Adventurers in this Holy War, and the Number of their Forces, adviſ'd him not to paſs the *Straits* 'till their Arrival, nor expoſe his harraſs'd Troops againſt the *Turks*; tho' at the Bottom this jealous Prince was very much concern'd at the Expedition. His late Wars with *Robert* had made him diffident and diſtruſtful, he had entertain'd an inveterate Antipathy to *Bohemond*, who he underſtood was one of the Adventurers, and could not reflect on their mighty Preparations without a Heart full of Apprehenſions. Being himſelf ambitious and aſpiring, he concluded that tho' the common People might act upon Principles of Religion, yet it was very improbable the Princes ſhould leave their own Dominions, and embark in ſo long and hazardous an Undertaking upon the ſame Motives. The Senſe of his own Weakneſs, and their Power, which he eſteem'd not to be oppoſed by open Force, made him reſolve to be upon his Guard, and prepare to behave himſelf like a Friend, or Enemy, as the Neceſſity of his Affairs ſhould require.

He arrives at Conſtantinople.

Alexius's Jealouſies were ſhortly after fortify'd by the inſupportable Inſolence of that Army of Peaſants,

of

of which *Peter* seem'd to have the Command, but who indeed were under no manner of Government; for being encamp'd without the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, they there renew'd the same Disorders which had been so fatal to 'em before in *Hungary*; they plunder'd and burnt all the beautiful Houses of Pleasure, and magnificent Palaces, which were without the City; they sacrilegiously robb'd the Churches, seeming to wage that War with the Christians, which they had vow'd against the Infidels: Whereupon the Emperor, grown weary of such troublesome Neighbours, not only permitted, but persuaded him to pass the *Straits*, which they immediately did, and behav'd themselves where-ever they march'd with their usual Barbarity, which shortly after met with an exemplary Punishment; for as it is seldom known that the Spirit of Union was ever long maintain'd among wicked Men, so it happen'd with this unruly Army, the *Germans* and *Italians* separated shortly after from the *French*, which hasten'd the Ruin of them all. For the *Italians* having seiz'd on a Town call'd *Xerigordus* were besieg'd by the Sultan, who upon the first Notice of the great Preparations of the Western Christians, had rais'd a formidable Army compos'd of all *Asia*, and found it no difficult matter to recover one Town from a headstrong ungovern'd Rabble; most of the Christians were taken with the Town, and those among 'em who would not renounce their Religion were put to the Sword. *and passes the Straits.*

The *French* in the mean time lay encamp'd near *Helenopolis* and *Cibolus*, two Villages situate in the Gulph of *Nicomedia*, and neareſt the City of *Nice*, from whence they sent out their Parties to forage and destroy the Country, but were shortly after circumvented by the Sultan, who having planted an Ambush in a convenient Place between *Helenopolis* and *Nice*, he sent two Renegades to *Peter*'s Camp, who told the *French* that the *Italians* and *Germans* had taken *Nice*, which they were plundering, and had hardly Hands

 suffi-

sufficient to carry off the Booty, whilst they lay idle in their Camp. The *French* Soldiers were so alarm'd at this News, that without any Regard had to Military Discipline, or the Commands of their Officers, they issu'd out in a disorderly manner, and ran headlong into the Snares had been laid for 'em. The Slaughter of these miserable Christians was so great, that their Bones pil'd up together appear'd like a Mountain, some of which mix'd with Stones were us'd afterwards in the Building of a City, which was rais'd not far from the Place where they receiv'd their Defeat, and serv'd at once as a Monument to the Dead, and an Habitation to the Living.

His Army is cut off by the Sultan.

Those, who had been able to save themselves from this woful Massacre, retir'd some to the Mountains, where they miserably perish'd, and others to *Civotos*, where, the Town being shortly after taken by the *Turks*, they were all made Slaves. So that there did not remain above three thousand of that innumerable Multitude, which *Peter* had led out of the West, who with much Difficulty got on Board the Emperor's Fleet, who carry'd 'em disarm'd, and almost naked to *Constantinople*.

The unfortunate Beginning of this War was highly acceptable to *Alexius*, who had his Eyes every where, and growing every Day more diffident and jealous, had concluded rather to oppose and weaken the Christians upon every little Pretence, than to assist and cherish 'em. The miserable Remains of *Peter*'s Army were hardly got to *Constantinople*, before the Emperor receiv'd Advice of *Godfrey*'s Arrival at *Philippopolis*, whither he had led an Army of ten thousand Horse and seven thousand Foot over the vast Countries of *Bulgaria*, and sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople* to acquaint *Alexius* with his Arrival, and to demand the Liberty of *Hugh* the Great, Brother to the *French* King, who in his Passage from *Bari* to *Dyrrachium*, having left part of his mighty Retinue and the Forces he was to lead behind him in *Italy*, and being sepa-

Godfrey *arrives at* Philippopolis.

rated

tated in a Storm from the reſt, was ſeiz'd by the Governor of *Dyrrachium*, and ſent by the Emperor's Order thro' By-Ways to *Conſtantinople*, where he was detain'd Priſoner.

Whether this was done either for that the Emperor was offended at an arrogant Meſſage he had receiv'd from *Hugh*, at the Beginning of his Expedition, as the *Greeks* alledge, or for that *Alexius* was well pleas'd to have ſo great a Prince in his Hands, who might ſerve for an Hoſtage to ſecure him againſt the *Latins*, is uncertain. However he return'd ſuch an Anſwer to *Godfrey*, advanc'd by that time with his Army as far as *Adrianople*, that he thought he had juſt Cauſe to act againſt him as an open Enemy, and for eight Days together waſting the Country as he mov'd along, he march'd directly to *Conſtantinople*, where he rais'd ſuch a Conſternation, that *Alexius* gave *Hugh* his Liberty, ſent to deſire Peace, and promis'd *Godfrey* all imaginable Satisfaction. However this Peace, for which the Emperor was forc'd to petition, was very indifferently obſerv'd on his Part; for tho' he had undertaken to furniſh the Army with Proviſions, yet he fail'd of his Promiſe, and when upon that Account they began to live at Diſcretion, he attack'd 'em by Sea and Land, and in every Reſpect behav'd himſelf more like an open Enemy, than a Friend: Which deteſtable Infidelity *Godfrey* puniſh'd, by waſting all about *Conſtantinople* for five or ſix Days together, and by that means compell'd *Alexius* to deſire a new Accommodation, who, offering his Son *John* for an Hoſtage, invited the Princes to *Conſtantinople*, where they were receiv'd with great Magnificence, and according to the Cuſtom of the *Greek* Emperors, *Alexius* adopted *Godfrey* for his Son, after which they came to this Agreement, That the Emperor ſhould, from time to time, aid the Princes with all his Forces both by Sea and Land, that he would continually ſupply the Army with Proviſions, and be ſerviceable to 'em upon all Occaſions. On the other

Marches in an hoſtile Manner to Conſtantinople.

An Agreement betwixt him and the Emperor.

Hand, the Princes were to do nothing contrary to his Intereſt, but reſtore to him ſuch Places of Importance as they ſhould recover in *Aſia*, and do Homage for the reſt. After many Diſputes and Arguments on both ſides, the Princes bound themſelves by Oath to the Obſervance of the ſecond Article, but with this Limitation, that they were no longer oblig'd than whilſt he punctually perform'd the firſt.

When theſe Matters were thus ſettled, *Alexius*, who was profuſely magnificent, loaded the Princes with new Honours, and made 'em exceſſive rich Preſents; but being ſhortly after inform'd that other Princes of the Cruſade were upon their March at the Head of powerful Armies, eſpecially *Bohemond*, Prince of *Tarentum*, of whom he thought he had great Reaſon to be diſtruſtful, he deſir'd *Godfrey* to paſs with his Army towards *Bithynia*, and encamp near *Calcedon*, alledging he was not able long to ſubſiſt his Forces where they lay, tho' the true Reaſon was to avoid the Preſence of ſo many Gueſts at once, moſt of whom he had juſtly provok'd by his Prevarications and Treachery. However *Godfrey* being deſirous to wait for the Arrival of *Bohemond*, and being at the ſame time ſenſible of *Alexius*'s Jealouſies, and *Bohemond*'s Reſentments, he undertook, at the Emperor's Requeſt, a Mediation between 'em, and ſo well manag'd the haughty Spirit of that great Prince, whom he met for that Purpoſe on his March, that he brought him with him to *Conſtantinople*, where he was receiv'd by *Alexius* with all imaginable Marks of Eſteem and Affection; and the Prince, who was willing to remove all Obſtacles that might retard 'em in their intended Expedition, behav'd himſelf on his ſide with an open generous Confidence, and ſo both endeavour'd for the preſent to conceal what it was impoſſible for either to overcome.

All things being thus happily concerted at *Conſtantinople*, the Forces paſs'd the *Boſphorus* and encamp'd near *Calcedon*, where the Meaſures neceſſary to be taken

taken for the Siege of *Nice* were consulted, the Emperor himself promising to assist in Person at that Enterprize, tho' he secretly propos'd to obtain that City to himself, rather by the Concession of the *Turks*, than the Force of the Christian Armies.

Nice, the Metropolis of *Bythinia*, famous for the first Oecumenical Council celebrated here against the *Arian* Heresie, stands in the middle of a fertile and pleasant Valley, encompass'd by high Mountains, and a capacious Lake, which on the Western Quarter serves as a Natural Fortification, and supplies it plentifully with all the Commodities of the Country; notwithstanding which it was more strongly fortify'd by *Solyman*, who having push'd on his Conquests as far as the *Propontis*, fixt here the Seat of his Empire, as most commodiously favouring the Desire the *Turks* had entertain'd of passing one Day into *Europe*. Here *Solyman*, his Successor, usually maintain'd a strong Garrison, but when first he heard of the Enterprize the Christians were about in the West, he reinforc'd it with the choicest of his Troops, and went in Person into *Persia*, to sollicit the Assistance of the Princes of his Nation. On the sixteenth of *May* in the Year 1097, tho' *Solyman* was just then return'd with a powerful Army out of the East, and had posted himself in the Mountains, the Princes distributed their several Quarters in his open view, knowing their Forces superior to his in Number, and by that Means able to cover the Siege; for at a general Muster they were found to be no fewer than six hundred thousand Men, of which an hundred thousand were Horse, besides Priests, Monks, Women, Children, and Servants, whose Numbers were infinite; notwithstanding which so just and exact a Discipline was maintain'd among 'em, that all sorts of Debauchery, which usually attend a licentious Multitude, were banish'd the Camp. *The Siege of Nice.*

During this Siege, which was maintain'd for seven Weeks, both the one side and the other gave emi-

nent Instances of their Obstinacy and Resolution: *Solyman* descended twice from the Mountains at the Head of a numerous Army, with a design to raise it, but was as often repuls'd by the more numerous Christians: The Besieg'd made frequent Sallies upon the Assailants, who receiv'd 'em with a Martial Constancy, and still forc'd 'em to retire with great Loss to the Garrison; who notwithstanding continu'd to defend the Place with a cheerful Courage, 'till they saw the Christians Masters of the Lake, by which they expected to receive the Relief they had sent to desire of *Solyman*, and then they entertain'd Thoughts of a Rendition. For whilst that Lake was open they receiv'd constant Supplies of Provision and all other Necessaries at their Pleasure; of which when *Alexius* was inform'd, he fitted out some little Frigots, which commanded the Lake, and intercepted their usual Commerce.

For tho' the Emperor had promis'd to join with the Princes, yet considering how much their Forces exceeded his, that they were chiefly commanded by such of whose Affections he had great Reason to be doubtful, he chose rather to be a Spectator of that War, in which he had sworn to be a Companion; and therefore continu'd at a Place call'd *Pelecanus*, from whence he observ'd the Progress of the Besiegers, and at the same time held a Correspondence with the Defendants, whom he sollicited by *Butumites* his Lieutenant to surrender the Place to him; which, upon mighty Promises of Advantages, as the highest Honours, and magnificent Pensions to the Sultan's Wife and Sister, and liberal Presents to the leading and most deserving Men of the Garrison, they condescended to. Tho' the Princes had timely Intimation of this Treaty, yet being sensible that it would hasten the Surrender of the Place, they chose rather to conceal their Knowledge of it, than obstruct it by a Resentment.

which is surrender'd to Alexius.

Alexius being thus become Master of *Nice*, and at the same time conscious to himself of the dishonourable Means by which he obtain'd it, endeavoured to conceal or varnish over his Guilt by his profuse Liberality to the *Franks*, making most magnificent Presents to all the Principal Commanders, and bestowing large Donatives upon the disappointed Soldiers, who had promis'd themselves the Spoils of the vanquish'd City; notwithstanding which the Distrust the Princes had entertain'd of him made 'em always upon their Guard, and the common Soldiers charg'd him every Day with whole Vollies of Curses and Execrations.

After the Reduction of *Nice* the Princes took leave of the Emperor, and march'd immediately towards *Syria*, having first separated into two Bodies for the Conveniency of Forage and Subsistence, *Bohemond* taking the Left Hand and *Godfrey* the Right, being however both careful that the Army should not be distant above two Miles the one Body from the other. *Bohemond* marching first, was three Days after this Separation discover'd by *Solyman* in a large Plain; who concluding that small Body contain'd the whole Christian Army, and he being reinforc'd with new Troops, which made his amount to three hundred and sixty thousand *Turks* and *Persians*, all Horse, besides an infinite Number of *Arabians*, who were also Cavalry, he suddenly seiz'd on all the Passes of the Hills, and the Avenues leading out of the Valley, intending to surprize the Christians early next Morning, as they were going to decamp.

Bohemond his Army in great Danger.

Of this *Bohemond* being advertis'd, he instantly dispatch'd some Horse to acquaint *Godfrey* of the Danger he was in, and made the best Provision he could to oppose the terrible Shock he expected from the Enemy, who came pouring down into the Valley to charge the Christians, whom they expected to find half conquer'd to their Hands by their Fear

and Diſorder. The Chriſtians receiv'd the Charge with great Conſtancy and Reſolution, but would in the end have been over-power'd by Numbers, had not *Godfrey* appear'd upon the Mountains, and in an Inſtant made an Alteration in the Face of the Battel; for *Solyman* retreated preſently to the Hills, where he thought the Chriſtians would not dare to attack him, which however they did with ſo much Execution, that the Enemy were put to Flight, leaving their Camp, and above three thouſand of the Principal Perſons of Quality among the *Turks*, beſides a prodigious Number of *Arabians*, and other ordinary Soldiers, behind 'em.

The Turks defeated

The Chriſtians, having refreſh'd themſelves for two Days in the Valley, continu'd their March, advancing towards *Syria*, ſuffering much as they march'd along; for the *Turks*, who no longer dar'd to encounter 'em hand to hand, deſtroy'd the Country through which they were to paſs, which reduc'd 'em to extream Want, eſpecially in their Paſſage over the Mountains and Deſarts. However, after having overcome Difficulties that others would have thought invincible, they arriv'd at *Antioch*, accompany'd by *Taticius*, or *Tatin*, the Emperor's Lieutenant, ſent rather to be a Spy upon 'em, and betray 'em, than to aſſiſt 'em. The Seaſon was far advanc'd when they arriv'd near *Antioch*, and the Town ſupply'd with a numerous Garriſon, and every thing requiſite for an effectual Defence; notwithſtanding which, conſidering it conſiſted with the Reputation of their Arms to ſet down before it, they put the whole Army in Order of Battel, and on the twenty firſt of *October* march'd in a terrible Triumph, and encamp'd within a Mile of it.

The Chriſtians beſiege Antioch.

It is Foreign to my preſent Deſign to inſiſt upon the Particulars of this Siege, which laſted nine Months, and is moſt Memorable for the many Actions perform'd in the Courſe of it, it being hard to determine whether the Beſiegers or Defendants were

expos'd

expos'd to the greateſt Hardſhips, or endur'd 'em with the greateſt Patience and Reſolution. The Fury of War, and the Viciſſitudes of it, appear'd no where more conſpicuous than upon this Occaſion. The Peſtilence and Famine, Envy and Emulation, Anguiſh and Deſpair rag'd equally within the Walls and without. That which ought to have haſten'd *Alexius* to the Succour of the Aſſailants, the Neceſſities they were under, made him return back when he was upon his March towards 'em: So that 'tis no wonder the Princes did not reſtore *Antioch* to him, as they had before oblig'd themſelves to do, but made *Bohemond* Prince of it, and that for a Reaſon, which becauſe it includes the Means by which they got it into their Hands, a brief Account of it may not be judg'd amiſs in this Place.

Pyrrhus, a Citizen of Quality in *Antioch*, was born of Chriſtian Parents, but pretended to embrace the *Mahometan* Superſtitions to ſave his Eſtate, as ſeveral other *Antiochians* had done in fourteen Years time, when firſt it was conquer'd by the *Turks*. This Man had obtain'd ſo great an Eſteem among the Infidels, that *Accien* the Sultan, charm'd with his good Qualities, entruſted him with the Guard of three Towers, and made him his Secretary of State. Notwithſtanding this, *Pyrrhus*, who ſecretly abhorr'd the Abominations of that Religion, to which he had outwardly conform'd, and being ſenſible how difficult it would be for the Chriſtians to take the Town by Force, conceiv'd an ardent Deſire to redeem his Country from the Servitude and Oppreſſion of the *Turks*; to which he was prompted by his Son, who at the beginning of the Siege was in a Sally taken Priſoner by *Bohemond*, and was ſo tranſported with his generous Treatment and Diſcharge, (for he refus'd to receive the Ranſom *Pyrrhus* had offer'd for him) that at *Bohemond*'s Inſtigation he induc'd his Father at his Return to think of ſome Means of delivering the Town up to the Chriſtians, and the Father from that time forward maintain'd

tain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with *Bohemond* by his Son's means, who was often ſent out into the Camp under the Pretence of being a Spy, and at length he agreed upon a certain Day to put the three Towers of which he had the Command, into his Hands. About this time the Great Sultan of *Perſia* had rais'd a moſt formidable Army of two hundred thouſand Horſe, and an innumerable Multitude of Foot, which were then on their March to the Relief of *Antioch*. Whereupon *Bohemond*, who was a politick deſigning Prince, the very Day that *Pyrrhus* and he had agreed, as is before mention'd, told the Princes in a Council of War with a melancholy Air, *That the Evils which the Army endured were inſupportable, and yet that they muſt ſhortly be forc'd to abandon the Siege, and riſe from the Town, after they had loſt ſo many brave Men before it, ſince ſo prodigious an Army was marching to its Relief.* That *nothing remain'd more to be done, but to try if any among 'em could gain the Town by Surprize or Intelligence, before the Succours arriv'd; and to encourage every one to undertake ſomething of that Nature for the publick Good, he propos'd the Principality of* Antioch *as a Reward to him who ſhould perform the Exploit, and thereby diſengage the Army from ſo long, ſo bloody and expenſive a Siege.*

Tho' the reſt of the Princes eaſily perceiv'd the Artifice of *Bohemond*, yet their Scouts continually alarming 'em with the Approach of the Succours, they in the end decreed that he who could gain *Antioch* ſhould be Maſter of it; whereupon *Bohemond* inſtantly adviſ'd *Pyrrhus*, that he was prepar'd to execute what had been concerted between 'em; and *Pyrrhus* the Night following, upon a Signal given, threw down a Cord, with which he drew up a Ladder, and faſten'd it to one of the Tower Battlements, whereupon a Company of *Bohemond*'s Soldiers, appointed for that purpoſe, mounted the Tower, which whilſt ſome of 'em maſter'd, killing all the *Turks* they met, others broke open a Sally-Port, at which the Troops enter'd, and

Antioch *betray'd to the Chriſtians.*

and seizing the Gates, the whole Army was, by break of Day, got without any Resistance into the City, where the greatest part of the *Turks* were kill'd, some in their Beds, others in the Streets, and *Accien* himself, who fled away in a Disguise, was taken shortly after, and slain by some Christians of *Syria*.

The Princes being thus become Masters of *Antioch*, sent *Hugh* the Great, and *Baldwin*, Earl of *Haynault*, to give the Emperor an Account of their Success, and press him to make good his Oath, and in Person join his Forces with those of the Princes, who got little by that unfortunate Ambassage; for the Earl of *Haynault* perish'd in the way, nor was it ever known what Death he dy'd, tho' it was generally suspected that he was taken Prisoner, and murder'd by the Emperor's Soldiers in *Nice*. *Hugh* got safe to *Constantinople*, but instead of returning to the Princes with an Account of his Embassy, he parted from thence in so abrupt a manner, that some of the Writers of that Time took Occasion from thence to mention him much to his Disadvantage; and the Emperor was so far from being persuaded to join with the Princes then, that he resolv'd never to do it. A. D. 1098.

Indeed at that time he had a justifiable Excuse for his Absence, for *Tzachas* still continu'd Master of *Smyrna*, from whence he exercis'd his Piracies, and infested the Sea-Coasts of the Empire; and *Tangripermes*, a Man of the same Faith and Practices, had seiz'd on *Ephesus*, as some of his Followers had done on *Rhodes*, *Chios*, and other Places, which they judg'd the most fit for their Piratical Excursions. Here they built their Ships, and laid 'em up after any Expedition; here they stor'd their Booty, and sold such Christians, as fell into their Hands, into a miserable Slavery.

This made *Alexius* think it requisite to Man out such a Fleet, and raise an Army as should not only be able to restrain the *Barbarians*, but to remove, and, if possible, to extirpate them. Accordingly he besieg'd

Smyrna

Smyrna by Sea and Land, which, despairing of Relief, surrender'd upon such Conditions as the Besieged themselves requir'd. But before the Fleet loosed from thence, *Caspan*, whom the Imperial General had made Governor of the Place, was murder'd by a *Turk*, of whom some Christians had made pressing Complaints for his Violence and Extortion, whereupon the Sailors and Soldiers in a confus'd Number fell into the City, where in an Instant they slew ten thousand of the *Turkish* Inhabitants.

Ten Thousand Turks *slain by the Christians at* Smyrna.

The Imperial General march'd from *Smyrna* to *Ephesus*, where he engag'd with *Tangripermes*, and defeated him, killing great Numbers of his Men, and taking no less than two thousand Prisoners, consisting chiefly of their principal Officers and prime Nobility among the *Turks*, who by the Emperor's Order were dispers'd throughout the Islands. After this *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other Maritime Places of no small Importance, fell into the Emperor's Hands, which shortly after prov'd the Subject of a War between the Emperor and *Bohemond*, the newly elected Prince of *Antioch*: For that Prince, mindful of his Hereditary Quarrel to *Alexius*, and offended at the Demand he had made of *Antioch*, which he claim'd as his, he sent his Nephew *Tancred* with part of his Forces to sit down before *Laodicea*, and take it by Storm if the Defendants refus'd to surrender. The Town was provided with a Garrison, which the Emperor judg'd sufficient to defeat any Designs of the *Turks*, but not strong enough to oppose the Courage of the victorious Christians; so that after some short Resistance it was delivered up to *Tankred*, together with other the most considerable Fortresses in all *Cilicia*. Of which when *Alexius* was inform'd, he sent and renew'd his Claim to *Antioch*, and upon a Repulse prepar'd to make good his Pretensions by the Force of Arms; and hearing that the Bishop of *Pisa* and other Princes in the West were preparing a great Fleet for the Support of the Christians in the East,

East, who had lately taken *Jeruſalem*, in which they found ſo much Booty, that the whole Army was enrich'd beyond Imagination, he gave Orders for the building more Ships of War to be added to thoſe he had already at Sea, and made *Taticius* his Admiral; reſolving to ſtop the Paſſage of the Weſtern Fleet, 'till the Princes had deliver'd up ſuch Towns as he challeng'd from 'em. Accordingly both Fleets met and engag'd near *Rhodes*, where the Imperialiſts prevail'd, and entirely defeated the Enemy's Fleet; but were themſelves over-taken by a Tempeſt in their Return to *Conſtantinople*, which deſtroy'd all their Ships but the Squadron commanded by *Taticius* himſelf. Jeruſalem *taken by the Chriſtians.*

Bohemond, obſerving the Emperor was in earneſt, and that after all his Prevarications he began now to declare more openly, put himſelf upon his Guard; and hearing that *Alexius*'s General, call'd *Catacuzenus*, was preparing to beſiege *Laodicea*, after he had in vain attempted to hinder the *Genoeſe* from landing, and marching to the Aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in the Holy-Land, he reſolv'd to march in Perſon to the Relief of it. Before his Arrival the *Greeks* were Maſters of the Town and Haven, but the *Franks* continu'd to make a vigorous Defence in the Caſtle, into which with much Difficulty he threw ſome Supplies, tho' that ſhortly after fell into the Emperor's Hands, and then return'd to *Antioch*, where he conſulted what Methods were moſt proper to oppoſe and annoy the Emperor. Upon Examination he found he had not Strength ſufficient at preſent either by Sea or Land to contend with him, that he could hope for no Recruits but out of the Weſt, and that his Preſence there was abſolutely neceſſary for the raiſing of 'em, and was ſenſible at the ſame time of the Danger he muſt unavoidably run in a Voyage thither, the Emperor being abſolute Maſter at Sea. In this Extremity he had recourſe to a Stratagem, which was no leſs wonderful in the Contrivance, than Bohemond *his Stratagem.*

their dangerous in the Execution. Having settled his Affairs at *Antioch*, the Management of which he committed to such in whom he could safely confide, he commanded a Report to be spread abroad of his Death, which was confirm'd by the Behaviour of his Friends, and the Conduct of his Court. When he thought no one would be so scrupulous as to doubt the Truth of it, he was put into a Coffin, and shipp'd on board a Vessel prepar'd for that purpose, which was to carry him to *Rome* in order to his Interment. By this Artifice he deluded the Curiosity of the Emperor's Officers, who suffer'd his Corps, as they took it, to pass unmolested, first to the Island *Coryphas*, and thence into *Italy*; and the Emperor was hardly sensible of this unhappy Oversight, 'till he was inform'd of the mighty Preparations *Bohemond* was making against him.

The unhappy Emperor never labour'd under greater Apprehensions than he did upon this Occasion. He was sensible how highly he had provok'd *Bohemond*, and how ready that haughty Spirit was to resent it. He knew he was already obnoxious to the Pope and the *Italian* Princes, so that it was extreamly difficult for him to create any Diversion on that side to defeat the Designs of a powerful Enemy, who seem'd sworn to his Ruin. These Apprehensions were improv'd by the Appearance of a Comet of an extraordinary Size, which rose in the West, and by an unnatural Motion travell'd on towards the East, where it set. The Appearance of this Star, and its irregular Progress, at first very much perplex'd the superstitious Emperor, 'till he in some measure was eas'd of his Fears by *Basilius* a Mathematician, for whom he had a great Regard, who assur'd him, that as by its Rising in the West, it foretold the Invasion of the *Latins*, so its Setting in the East intimated, that in the East they would all be destroy'd. At *Thessalonica*, whither the Cares of the War, and approaching Dangers had drawn him, he narrowly escap'd the Effects

of

of a Conspiracy, which being form'd by Persons of the chiefest Rank, as well in the Church and the Senate as in the Army, it serv'd to let him know how his own Subjects were dispos'd against him.

A Conspiracy against the Emperor, discover'd.

Whilst he lay under these Disquietudes his Fleet was ready to put to Sea, and he order'd his Admiral, whose Name was *Constephanus*, upon Forfeiture of his Eyes, so diligently to watch the Seas, as not to suffer *Bohemond* to pass by him without an Engagement. At the same time he sent Orders to the Governour of *Dyrrachium* to be constantly upon his Guard, and not suffer himself to be surpriz'd. But *Constephanus*, instead of following his Instructions, made a Descent into *Italy*, and laid Siege to *Brundusium*, where he receiv'd an absolute Defeat, which was chiefly owing to the brave Conduct of *Tancred*'s Mother. This Misfortune prov'd in the Issue of worse Consequence to *Alexius* his Affairs, than might have reasonably been at first expected. For six *Scythians* being taken Prisoners in the Action, they were sent to *Bohemond*, who carry'd 'em to the Pope, telling him 'twas with such Instruments as these *Alexius* endeavour'd to defend and enlage his own Dominions, and encroach upon his Neighbours, fighting at the Head of Pagans against Christians, and arming Barbarians against the most civiliz'd Nations of *Europe*. By these Artifices *Bohemond* stirr'd up the Pope and People against *Alexius*, so that his Levies were compleat in an Instant, every one crowding to receive the Pope's Benediction, and to engage in the War against so abominable a Tyrant as they conceiv'd *Alexius* to be.

Great Preparations in the West against Alexius.

The Emperor's Fleet lay at *Aulon* in *Albania*, when *Bohemond* put to Sea; and tho' they had receiv'd Express Orders from their Master to hinder his Passage, yet terrify'd at the Number and Burden of his Ships, they all fled, and *Bohemond* landed his Forces without any Opposition at that Place, which they had relinquish'd to him, and prepar'd to besiege *Dyrrachium*, of which that impetuous Prince was already Master in his

his own Imagination. In Order to which he seiz'd on all the Towns adjoining to it, and having burnt his Ships in the sight of his Army, thereby giving 'em to understand there was no Possibility of their returning home, he sat down with his whole Army before it, and expos'd himself and all his Forces to such unavoidable Difficulties, as, had they been foreseen, would have been sufficient to deter him from so dangerous an Undertaking. For the Emperor, being Master at Sea, he could not from thence receive any Provisions, which there was no possibility of getting by Land, where *Alexius* had seiz'd on all the Avenues leading to *Dyrrachium*. This begot a great Famine in his Camp, which was follow'd by a Sickness that swept off great Numbers of his Men daily. In the mean time the Besieg'd made a vigorous Defence, and *Alexius*, who was not willing to venture all upon one Stake, declin'd bringing it to a Battel, and endeavour'd to weaken *Bohemond*'s Army by sowing Dissentions in it. Having learn'd what Officers in his Army that Prince had the greatest Dependance upon, he sent such Letters to them as seem'd no other than Answers to some others he had lately receiv'd from them before, in which he thank'd 'em for the great Services they had done him in betraying *Bohemond*'s Designs to him, and exhorted 'em to persist in the good Work they had began, and effectually deserve the Rewards he had abundantly prepar'd for 'em. These Letters were directed to *Bohemond*'s own Brother, and other his most intimate Friends and Confidents; hoping by such Means to create such a Jealousie of 'em, and the Prince, as would in time end in the Ruin both of them and himself. These Letters being thus dispatch'd, he sent a Man of experienced Loyalty, who posting a nearer way to *Bohemond*'s Camp, immediately demanded Admittance to that Prince, to whom he pretended, that having receiv'd some Injuries from the Emperor, he had renounc'd his Allegiance, and was come to follow his Fortune, being

Bohemond Besieges Dyrrachium.

Alexius his Artifices.

being able, by a timely Diſcovery of ſome Treaſons intended againſt him, to make way for his Reception: When he was ask'd what thoſe Treaſons were, and who were the Traitors, he boldly accus'd *Bohemond*'s own Brother, and ſuch others as had been before agreed upon betwixt him and *Alexius*, referring himſelf to the Contents of ſome Letters, which he knew were upon the Road, for the Truth of what he had declar'd; undertaking to intercept the Bearers of 'em, before they ſhould be able to deliver 'em according to their Directions, provided he might be aſſur'd of the Lives of thoſe who did nothing out of Ill-will to him, but in Obedience to an haughty imperious Maſter; which *Bohemond*, who was ſurpris'd at the Novelty of the thing, without any Heſitation granted. Accordingly the Men were ſeiz'd, and the Letters deliver'd to *Bohemond*, who opening 'em with great Impatience, read 'em over with an aſtoniſh'd Eye, and was at firſt ſo thoroughly perſuaded that they were genuine, that he kept within his Tent ſix Days together, ſeriouſly debating with himſelf what Councils to take in ſo critical a Conjuncture. At laſt, either conſidering that the Removal of ſo many experienc'd Men at once would be of a more dangerous Conſequence than the Continuance of them in the Service, however ill affected they might be to him; or having at length ſome Reaſon to diſtruſt the Sincerity of thoſe Letters, he continu'd his Brother and all the reſt in their Employments, gave 'em freſh Inſtances of his good Inclinations towards 'em, and of the Truſt he repos'd in 'em, not to be ſhaken by ſo weighty a Teſtimony as thoſe Letters ſeem'd to produce againſt 'em.

In the mean time Acts of Hoſtility were continu'd on both ſides, and the Siege advanc'd extream ſlowly, for the Beſieg'd made a vigorous Defence, and had great Plenty of all things in the Garriſon. Momentary Skirmiſhes and Party Engagements happen'd almoſt every Day, in which for the moſt part the Emperor had the Advantage, and ſo cloſely preſs'd *Bohe-* A. D. 1109.

mond, who began to be in want of almoſt every thing neceſſary for a Camp, that that haughty Spirit firſt heard patiently ſome Overtures of a Peace, and at length was prevail'd upon to conclude it upon Terms very honourable to the Emperor, and no leſs ſatisfactory to him, conſidering the preſent Condition of his Affairs. After which, having diſpers'd his Troops into ſuch Winter Quarters as were allotted him by the Emperor, he himſelf return'd into *Italy*, ſaith *Anna Comnena*, tho' we learn from others that he went forwards to *Antioch*, where he dy'd within ſix Months, and went to ſeek that Peace beyond the Grave, which his Honour and Ambition would not ſuffer him to enjoy on this ſide of it. He was undoubtedly one of the greateſt Men of that Age, he was tall and well-ſhap'd; of an Appearance mixt with Terror and Delight, at the ſame time threatning and inviting: He was in Deſigning judicious, in Execution forward; neither ſoften'd by Proſperity, nor dejected in Adverſity. His great Courage and Generoſity made him eſteem'd by thoſe that knew him, and admired even by Strangers; ſo that we may have reaſon to believe *Anna Comnena*, when ſhe ſaith he was the braveſt Man of his Age, except that Idol of her Heart, her Father *Alexius*.

Bohemond dies.

Bohemond, among other things, agreed, at the Concluſion of the late Peace, to reſtore to the Emperor ſuch Towns as he with-held from him in *Aſia*, to which *Tankred* now laid Claim upon his Uncle's Death, in Right of the young *Bohemond* his Couſin, and refus'd to ſurrender 'em; of which the Emperor made loud Complaints, and requir'd him to obſerve the Articles: To which he return'd a reſolute Anſwer, and let the Emperor know he was to expect nothing but what he could obtain by down-right Force. Upon this Occaſion *Alexius* had recourſe to his uſual Artifices; he endeavour'd to perſuade *Baldwin*, at that time King of *Jeruſalem*, to aſſiſt him againſt *Tankred*, or at leaſt to ſit Neuter, whilſt he recover'd

cover'd his undoubted Right from him. But finding that neither *Baldwin* or any other of the Princes of the Cruſade were inclinable to favour his Pretences againſt *Tancred*, he thought fit to ſuſpend his Claim for the preſent, and the rather becauſe his Jealouſie was awaken'd with the new Preparations he heard the *Italians* were making in the Weſt.

'Tis no wonder if this Prince, having in ſome Reſpect or other provok'd all the World, thought the whole World combin'd againſt him, and receiv'd an Alarm from every Motion of thoſe whom his Guilt taught him to conſider as his Enemies: On whatever Quarter he caſt his Eyes he thought he had juſt Reaſon to put himſelf upon his Guard, and that at a time when he was leaſt able to make a Reſiſtance. The *Turks* were not more diſtruſted by him than the Chriſtians themſelves, nor could he ſafely confide even in his own Subjects, who were continually forming Conſpiracies againſt him, or terrifying him by their Rebellions; add to all this, the Infirmities of his Body, afflicted by the Gout, and other Diſtempers which uſually accompany Old Age, and render Life a Burden. Notwithſtanding which, being inform'd that the *Turks* had renew'd their Incurſions, which they made up almoſt as far as the Walls of *Nice*, he march'd in Perſon againſt 'em, and gave 'em an Overthrow that was thought worthy ſuch a Triumph at *Conſtantinople*, as the Inhabitants of that Place had not ſeen for a long time before. A. D. 1118.

Notwithſtanding this Defeat of the *Turks*, they ſhortly after renew'd their Incurſions, and deſtroy'd the Borders of the Empire for a conſiderable time without Control, for that the Forces of the Eaſt had been ſome time before ſent againſt the *Scythians*, who were preparing to give *Alexius* new Trouble, and the Emperor himſelf was laid up of the Gout. However, being at length recover'd, and having review'd his Forces, he march'd againſt the *Turks*, who with an inſolent Barbarity deſtroy'd all before 'em, but at the

Emperor's Approach retir'd without venturing a Battel; and when they heard he was return'd to *Nicomedia*, they renew'd their Hoſtilities with their uſual Confidence, and were frequently defeated by *Alexius*'s Lieutenants, who were left behind for that purpoſe, eſpecially by *Nicephorus*, who drove the Sultan himſelf out of the Field, and won ſeveral Places of Importance from the *Turks* near *Iconium*; at which, and a ſecond Expedition of *Alexius* againſt 'em, they were ſo terrify'd that they immediately deſir'd Peace, which was readily granted 'em by the Emperor.

This Peace being ſo happily concluded, the Emperor never after appear'd in the Field; but being now as cautious of provoking his Neighbours, as he had been heretofore forward in it, he apply'd himſelf to Acts of Charity, and to the healing thoſe Diviſions, with which the *Greek* Church was at that time grievouſly afflicted. Theſe Cares took up the reſt of his Time 'till his Death, which happen'd ſhortly after, occaſion'd by a violent Cold, and his own Wilfulneſs, or the Ignorance and unſeaſonable Diſputes of his Phyſicians. He dy'd in the thirty eighth Year of his own Reign, the laſt of *Baldwin* the firſt King of *Jeruſalem*, and the twenty ſecond after the firſt Expedition of the Weſtern Chriſtians for the Recovery of the Holy-Land, *An. Dom.* 1118.

Alexius *dies.*

The Character of this Prince is differently repreſented by the *Greek* Authors, and thoſe who have written the Hiſtory of the Holy Wars; the *Græcians*, eſpecially his Daughter *Ann*, placing him among thoſe excellent Princes whoſe Virtues adorn'd the Imperial Throne; and the reſt making him worſe than the worſt of thoſe who defil'd it. It is agreed on all Hands, that he was one of the greateſt Politicians of his Time, and knew how to be Maſter of his Deſigns by Artifice, when it was not to be effected by open Force. His greateſt Fault was his Ambition, and his moſt ſhining Talent Diſſimulation. He was patient of Labour; and, upon Occaſion, a great

His Character.

Time-

Time-ſerver. He outwardly profeſs'd a great Veneration for the Church, but made it appear, whenever his Neceſſities requir'd it, how ſuperficial that Veneration was. That he was grateful and munificent, appears from his Behaviour to his Brother and the reſt of his Friends, who had been inſtrumental in his Advancement. He was Perfidious, but not Cruel, ſeldom puniſhing thoſe, who during the long courſe of his Reign ſo often attempted him by their Conſpiracies, otherwiſe than with Baniſhment and Confiſcation. His Behaviour to the Weſtern Adventurers was unworthy a Prince and a Chriſtian, but that in ſome meaſure it was to be excus'd by the Jealouſies he had upon good Grounds entertain'd againſt *Bohemond*. His Reign was for the moſt part full of Cares and Anxieties, and at laſt he left the Empire to his Son, who govern'd more to the Satisfaction of his People than his Father had done before him.

CALO-JOHANNES. A. D. 1118.

Whilſt *Alexius* lay ſick, he was earneſtly ſollicited by the Empreſs and his Daughter *Ann*, to declare her Husband *Bryennius* Emperor, and to deprive his own Son *John* of the Succeſſion; and tho' *Alexius* abſolutely deny'd their Requeſt, and gave 'em unanſwerable Reaſons for that Denial, yet they perſiſted in their Sollicitations; and that the rather, becauſe they heard *John*, having got the Imperial Signet from off his dying Father's Finger, had caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd Emperor, by thoſe of his Relations and others who were well affected to his Cauſe. This made 'em more importunate with *Alexius*, who continu'd deaf to their Importunities, 'till *John* was got at the Head of his Party into the Palace, immediately upon which the aged Emperor dy'd, and left him his Succeſſor without any Competitor.

John, being confirm'd in the Imperial Dignity, and crown'd by the Hands of the Patriarch, remov'd ſuch Officers from Court as were ſuſpected by him, and preferr'd none to ſucceed 'em but his own Friends

and Relations, and such others as were the most Eminent for their Birth in the Empire. Notwithstanding this prudent Management, he had not worn the Imperial Purple a full Year before some of his nearest Relations conspir'd against him, and by Oath oblig'd themselves to advance *Bryennius*; this was rather contriv'd by the haughty and ambitious Temper of *Ann*, than desir'd by *Bryennius*, who was so far from approving what had been design'd, that his Remisness and Aversion to publick Affairs blunted the Edge of the Conspirators Swords, who had undertaken to murder the Emperor by Night. A treasonable Design not executed proves pernicious to none but the Traitors: The Conspirators being discover'd, and seiz'd the next Day, suffer'd no other Punishment than a Confiscation of their Goods, which however were shortly after restor'd to 'em through the Clemency of the Emperor, and they receiv'd into Favour. *Ann* her self, who had given Life to the Conspiracy, being the first who tasted of his Royal Bounty, which was in a great Measure owing to the Virtue and Generosity of *Axuchus*, a *Persian* by Birth; who being in the City of *Nice* when it was taken by the Christians, was among other Captives presented to *Alexius*; and that Emperor, observing something extraordinary in the Youth, order'd him to attend as a Companion upon his Son, who from that time forward conceiv'd so great an Affection for him, that when he came to be Emperor he was declar'd his chief Favourite and prime Minister, *John* thinking he could never do enough for the belov'd Companion of his Studies and Diversions. *Axuchus*, on the other side, behav'd himself with the greatest Moderation, and tho' his Authority was so great in the Empire, that many of the Royal Blood thought it no Disgrace to alight from their Horses when they met him, and pay him Homage; yet was he so far from the Arrogance of unworthy upstart Favourites, that he demean'd himself on all Occasions like a Servant, daily

John, *the new Emperor, his great Moderation.*

daily endeavouring to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding in the Royal Family, and reconciling the Offenders to the injur'd Prince. By this Man's good Offices the Emperor was perfectly reconcil'd to his Mother and Siſter, and having eſtabliſh'd an agreeable Harmony at home, he found himſelf at leiſure to obſerve the *Turks*, who, in Defiance of the Peace lately concluded with his Father, had broken into *Phrygia*, where he overthrew 'em in ſeveral Engagements, recover'd all the Places of Importance out of their Hands, and among the reſt the City of *Laodicea*, which he ſecur'd with new Walls and other Fortifications. After which he laid Siege to *Sozopolis*, a conſiderable Town in *Pamphilia*, from whence the *Turks* by their frequent Excurſions very much oppreſs'd the Subjects of the Empire. The Town was ſtrongly fortify'd, and almoſt inacceſſible, ſo that he found it difficult to force the numerous Garriſon by the uſual Methods of a Siege, and had Recourſe to a Stratagem, which had the Succeſs he deſired, and made him Maſter of the Town: For having by a pretended Aſſault drawn the *Turks* out, and by a counterfeit Flight entic'd 'em into an Ambuſcade, part of his Forces got between them and the City, and fell upon the Rear, whilſt the other fac'd about and attack'd 'em upon the Front, killing great Multitudes upon the Spot, taking ſeveral Priſoners, and ſuffering none to eſcape, but a few who ow'd their Lives to the Fleetneſs of their Horſes. After which not only *Sozopolis* fell into his Hands, but ſeveral other Places in thoſe Parts, formerly Members of the *Roman* Empire, but late ſubdu'd, and added to the Dominions of the *Turks*.

His Wars with the Turks.

Theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions in the Beginning of his Reign, render'd *John* terrible to his Enemies in *Aſia*, who ſuffer'd him therefore peaceably to enjoy the Fruits of his Victories at *Conſtantinople*; 'till in the fifth Year of his Reign he was forc'd upon an Expedition againſt the *Scythians*, who having paſt the

A. D. 1122. *and the Scythians.*

Iſter had waſted *Thrace*, and like devouring Locuſts deſtroy'd all before 'em. Againſt theſe the Emperor led the Flower of the *Roman* Army, preparing however to circumvent by Fraud if poſſible, rather than engage with ſuch a Multitude of Barbarians in a pitch'd Battel. Accordingly he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the chief Captains in their Army, for every Tribe, or Clan, had its particular Commander, and amus'd the moſt powerful among 'em ſo effectually with his fair Promiſes and magnificent Preſents, that they were careleſly conſulting among themſelves on what Terms they ſhould grant Peace to a Prince, who appear'd ſo willing to pay for it; when the Emperor towards the Evening fell ſuddenly upon 'em, kill'd great Multitudes before they were able to defend themſelves, and forc'd the reſt, after a reſolute Oppoſition, to fly, or yield themſelves Priſoners.

This ſignal Victory was ſucceeded by another, obtain'd ſhortly after over the *Triballi*, or *Servii*, who having broke the League concluded with them, provok'd the Vengeance of the *Roman* Arms againſt 'em. Theſe being likewiſe overcome by the Emperor, were either incorporated in his Legions, or tranſplanted to other Parts, where they were not ſo capable of doing Miſchief for the future.

The perfidious *Triballi* being thus puniſh'd by this active Emperor, he was ſhortly after forc'd to turn his Victorious Arms againſt the *Hunns*, who upon ſome frivolous Pretences had invaded the Territories of the Empire. *John*, who thought it adviſable to prevent and remove an Evil before it gain'd too much Head, forc'd 'em back over the *Iſter*; and paſſing his own Army over that River, he carry'd the War into their own Country, where he took ſeveral of their ſtrong Holds, obtain'd a conſiderable Booty, forc'd 'em to ſuch a Peace as he thought fit to grant, and having ſecur'd the Frontiers, return'd in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*; where he had hardly return'd Thanks

for

for his Succeſs, ſhewn himſelf to his Subjects, and ſuffer'd his Soldiers to enjoy a ſhort Refreſhment, before new Attempts of his Enemies call'd him out to new Adventures.

The *Turks*, who had already ſeiz'd on ſo many conſiderable Branches of the Empire, ſtill graſp'd at more; with Confederate Forces they ſeiz'd on ſeveral of the *Roman* Cities in *Galatia*, in *Cilicia*, and other Places, which this warlike Emperor did not only recover, but forc'd 'em to yield up others they had injuriouſly detain'd, and did not deſiſt 'till he had maſter'd all *Armenia*; he laid Siege to *Baca* and *Anazarba*, which he took, but was forc'd to riſe from before *Berrhæa* in *Syria*, after which he took in other Places of Importance, and made a fruitleſs Expedition againſt *Antioch*, to which he laid Claim by vertue of the Treaty concluded between his Father and the Princes of the *Cruſade*: But *Fowk*, Earl of *Anjou*, who had lately ſucceeded *Baldwin* of *Bruges* in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, undertook the Defence of the Place, and the Protection of *Raimond*, the Earl of *Poitier*'s Son, who had marry'd *Conſtantia*, *Bohemond*'s Daughter, and by that means was eſteem'd the lawful Prince of thoſe Territories.

The Emperor, in his Return homeward, was happily reconcil'd to his Brother *Iſaac*, who in the beginning of his Reign had taken ſome Diſguſt, and withdrew to the *Turks*, among whom he liv'd, and adviſ'd 'em to direct their Incurſions with the moſt probable Succeſs. But ſhortly after, as the *Romans* were about to engage the *Turks* near *Neo-Cæſaria*, *Iſaac*'s Son *John*, an arrogant intractable Youth, deſerted to the Enemy, which had like to have prov'd the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Army; for he inform'd the Barbarians of the Difficulties they labour'd under, how their Horſes dy'd daily, and that there was a Scarcity of all Things convenient in their Camp; and that he might add a greater

Weight

Weight to his Information, he impiously renounc'd the Christian Religion, and embrac'd the *Mahometan* Superstitions. The *Turks* were so encourag'd by this Defection, that they fell violently upon the *Romans* as they were decamping, and kill'd great Numbers before the Emperor could lead 'em into a Place of Security.

After this he return'd to *Constantinople*, where he was receiv'd with the usual Acclamations by the Citizens, who however murmur'd frequently at the heavy Impositions laid upon 'em for the Support of the War; but considering the Money was entirely apply'd for the Good and Security of the Publick, and not diverted to any private Use, they grew asham'd of their Uneasiness, and admir'd the indefatigable Industry of their warlike Emperor, whose Care for the Good of his Subjects was more extensive than his Dominions, and who thought it a Shame to lie idle at home, when the Season of the Year suffer'd him to be at the Head of his Armies abroad.

Hitherto the many Wars he had been engag'd in concluded all honourably, and most of 'em advantageously to the Empire, and he had no great reason to accuse Fortune; but now she who had so long attended him in all his Expeditions as a Friend, began to declare against him. Tho' he had frequently attempted *Antioch* in vain, as has been before observ'd, and was oblig'd to come to an Agreement with the
A. D. *Latins* there, yet his Ambition still prompted him to
1140. endeavour the Conquest of that renown'd City, which had formerly appear'd like an inestimable Diamond in the Crowns of his Predecessors. Having settled his Domestick Affairs he set forward in the Spring, accompany'd by his three Sons, *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Manuel*, pretending publickly that the Design of his Expedition was only to settle the Affairs of *Armenia*, to secure his Conquests there, and confirm the Cities in their Obedience; tho' his principal

cipal Design was, if possible, to re-unite *Antioch* to the Empire. How much Divine Providence was offended at his Undertaking, appear'd from the great Loss this Emperor sustain'd shortly after he had begun his March. For his eldest Son *Alexius*, whom he had before adorn'd with the Imperial Purple, dy'd by the way; and *Andronicus*, his second, had hardly perform'd the last Office to his deceas'd Brother before he follow'd, to the exceeding great Regret of the Emperor, who was ready to sink under the weight of so unexpected a Calamity. However, being in nothing diverted from his intended Designs, he proceeded first into *Isauria*, and from thence into *Syria*, having first acquainted the Inhabitants of *Antioch* of his Arrival. The Citizens immediately sent an Embassy to congratulate his Presence in those Parts, with which he seem'd highly delighted, and promis'd himself an agreeable Success; but as he drew nearer he found he had great Reason to distrust the Integrity of the *Latins*, who understanding the Design of his Expedition, refus'd to admit him into the City 'till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no Innovation, but quietly depart after a short Residence among 'em. The Emperor having first try'd the Temper of the *Syrians* and *Cilicians*, and found 'em by no means inclinable to a Change, was forc'd to submit; so that after he had taken the Oath prescrib'd, he and a few of his Followers were receiv'd into the City, but he was so ill pleas'd with his Entertainment there, and the Obstinacy of the Inhabitants, who had extorted that Oath from him, that at his Departure he order'd his Soldiers to plunder the Suburbs, which he pretended was done through the want of Provisions in the Army, though it was really contriv'd to revenge the Affront he thought they had put upon him. After this he directed his March towards the Confines of *Cilicia*, where he severely paid for the Outrages committed at *Antioch*. For as he was one Day hunting a wild Boar, having wounded him with his Spear, the enrag'd

enrag'd Beaſt bore forward upon the Weapon with all his Strength, and forc'd the Emperor's Hand back upon the Point of a poiſon'd Arrow, which hung in a Quiver at his Back, and gave him a ſlight Wound, of which he ſhortly after dy'd; for whereas at firſt proper Remedies were not apply'd, the Strength of the Poiſon prevail'd by degrees, and caus'd ſuch a Swelling in his Hand and Arm, that at length the Phyſicians declar'd there was no Remedy left but to cut off his Arm; this the Emperor peremptorily refus'd, affirming, that *he wanted both Hands to govern ſo large an Empire.*

The Emperor wounded mortally.

A. D. 1142. Wherefore finding that Death was unavoidable, he ſent for his Son *Manuel*, and having ſummon'd the chief of the Nobility to be preſent, he recounted to 'em the Condition he found the Empire in at his Father's Death, and in what a flouriſhing State he now left it. He repreſented to 'em *his many Expeditions, his laborious Marches, and Victories obtain'd over ſuch as had, for a long time before, reflected on the* Roman *Arms with Contempt.* He told 'em *he was now call'd to the Enjoyment of an Heavenly Kingdom, and wiſh'd 'em to conſider of a Succeſſor.* He added, *that he had two Sons living,* Iſaac *and* Manuel, *and that if it might be lawful for him to name the Perſon he would have to ſucceed him, he would not ſo much conſider the Priority of Birth, as the Superiority of Virtues, nor would he willingly leave the Empire to the eldeſt, but the moſt deſerving.* He obſerv'd, *that God was no Accepter of Perſons, that the Dictates of Nature, like the Councils of old Women, were often to be rejected in things of Moment and Conſequence.* After that he proceeded to recount *the different Tempers of* Iſaac *and* Manuel, *that this was of a ſedate modeſt Diſpoſition, and therefore the fitter to liſten to, and receive the wholſome Advice of, his Friends; that on the contrary the other was fiery and impatient; and having appear'd incapable of Obedience he judg'd him unworthy to Command; that* Manuel *from his Youth ſeem'd deſign'd for the* Roman *Empire, that ſeveral notorious Prophecies and Omens declaring*

His Speech before his Death.

Declares his Succeſſor,

the

the Divine Pleaſure mark'd out his way to it, and therefore that as Iſaac *formerly conferr'd the Birth-Right on the younger, ſo he now thought it became him to call the younger to the Succeſſion.*

MANUEL COMNENUS.

Iſaac was by no means gracious to the People, and was moreover at this time abſent from the Army, ſo that they all readily agreed to receive *Manuel* from the Hands of their dying Emperor, and was accordingly proclaim'd and acknowledg'd ſuch at the Head of all the Legions, the chief Officers of the Army obliging themſelves by moſt ſolemn Oaths, never to obey any other. This was chiefly attributed to the prudent Management of *Axuchus*, who thought by this means to put a ſtop to the Troubles that might otherwiſe hereafter ariſe from different Pretenders.

and dies.

The remaining part of the Emperor's Time was ſpent in his Exhortations to *Manuel*, and his private Devotions: He liv'd not long after, but dy'd on the eighth of *April*, in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign, the fifth of *Conrade* the third Emperor of *Germany*, and ſeventh of our King *Stephen*, *A. D.* 1142.

His Character.

He was a Prince equally to be admir'd for his private Deportment as a Man, and his publick Adminiſtration as Emperor, belov'd by the People for his frequent Donatives and magnificent Buildings. His Thirſt after Glory was his moſt prevailing Quality, deſiring above all things to continue his Name down to Poſterity. He was an exact Obſerver of Forms in his Family and Habit, ſuffering no wanton Diſcourſes in Court, no gaudy Dreſſes, nor riotous Banquets. As he was a ſincere Lover of Virtue himſelf, ſo he endeavour'd by his Example to encourage it in others. He was naturally Courteous, and free of Acceſs, indulging himſelf in all ſorts of innocent Recreations and Entertainments when the Affairs of State would permit. It is obſervable of him, that he put none to Death, nor inflicted a Corporal Puniſhment on any one throughout his whole Reign. So that he was de-

ſervedly

fervedly belov'd after his Death, and eſteem'd an Ornament to the *Comnenian* Family, equalling moſt, and excelling not a few of his Predeceſſors.

Manuel's firſt Care, after his Father's Death, was to confirm himſelf in the Dignity to which he had been advanc'd. He was afraid leſt his Brother *Iſaac*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, ſhould upon the firſt notice of his Advancement declare againſt him, to which he thought the Imperial Treaſure and Ornaments were no ſmall Inducements. He therefore immediately ſent away *Axuchus*, who had Orders to ſecure *Iſaac*, if poſſible, before he had time to attempt any Alterations; in which that faithful Miniſter ſucceeded ſo effectually, that he ſuddenly ſeiz'd on the unregarded Prince, and ſhut him up into a Monaſtery, where he in vain exclaim'd againſt the Injuſtice he had receiv'd, and declar'd his Right to the Empire; whilſt *Axuchus* was intent upon ſettling the Affairs at Court, upon reconciling the Minds of the People to the new Emperor, and preparing for his publick Entry, which he made amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Inhabitants, who receiv'd him joyfully, both for his Father's ſake, and the Reputation he had acquir'd for his own Valour, Prudence and Bravery. He had a lively Countenance, a manly Stature, and a Complexion rather ſwarthy than fair, but what was very becoming; and the Citizens at that time diſcover'd ſeveral imaginary Graces in his Perſon, which had before paſs'd unobſerv'd. Being crown'd by the Hands of the Patriarch, and reconcil'd to his Brother *Iſaac*, who promis'd an implicit Obedience for the future, he turn'd his Eyes towards the Eaſt, where the *Turks* renew'd their Inroads, and *Raimond*, Prince of *Antioch*, encroach'd upon the *Roman* Territories in *Cilicia*. *Andronicus* and *Pruſuchus* were ſent to obſerve *Raimond*, and the Emperor march'd in Perſon againſt the Infidels, from whom he recover'd ſuch Places as they had ſeiz'd in *Phrygia*, and other Parts, and engaging with 'em at *Philomelium*

Iconium he receiv'd a Wound in his Foot; notwithstanding which he continu'd the War, and sate down before *Iconium* it self, from whence however he was shortly after forc'd to rise, and return in a disorderly manner home, where he began by some unworthy Actions, to render himself unacceptable to the People. He had marry'd *Gertrude*, Sister-in-Law to *Conrade* the *German* Emperor, who was not so careful by artificial transitory Beauties to adorn her Body, as by solid Virtues to enrich her Mind; which alienated the Affections of the youthful Emperor from her, who continu'd to her her Guards, and the other usual Ensigns of Empire, but abstain'd from her Bed, and wantonly convers'd with his own Niece *Theodora*, to the great Scandal of his Dignity and Profession.

The Greek Writers call her Eirene.

Manuel's Administration disagreeable to the People.

Knowing how much such an Action would raise the Indignation of his Subjects against him, he endeavour'd to soften 'em by his continu'd Application to the Affairs of State, by his Choice of such Ministers as he knew were acceptable to the People, and by his great Charity, Affability, and Magnificence, which however in time degenerated into the most sordid Parsimony and Austerity.

About this time Ambassadors arriv'd at *Constantinople* from the *German* Emperor, and such other Princes as had undertaken the Second Crusade to the Holy-Land. Their Business was to desire in their Masters Name a free Passage for their Troops through the Territories of the Empire, with a Supply of Forage and Provision. The Emperor, tho' he was infinitely jealous, receiv'd the Ambassadors tolerably well, extoll'd that generous and most Christian Temper in their Masters, and promis'd 'em a Sufficiency of all things they could desire, provided they insulted none of his Subjects in their Passage. Notwithstanding this fair Answer he muster'd all his Forces, and in a set Speech told his chief Officers *how much reason he had to distrust the Western Christians, who he fear'd would appear Wolves*

A. D. 1147.

Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing. He repreſented to 'em *the Numbers and Inclinations of theſe Adventurers*, that *they were perfidious, cruel, and revengeful*; that *they uſually made War before they had declar'd it*; and ſeem'd by his Speech, rather to animate the Minds of his Soldiers for an Engagement with their Enemies, than to prepare 'em for a friendly Reception of their Fellow-Chriſtians, who had arm'd themſelves for no other purpoſe, but to drive the implacable Infidels farther from their Doors.

His treacherous Behaviour to the Weſtern Princes.

When he had thus deliver'd himſelf to the Army, he diſmiſs'd part of it to meet the Emperor, not ſo much out of Reſpect or Honour, as to obſerve his Motions, and the reſt he retain'd for the Defence of the City, which he ſecur'd with new Fortifications, and behav'd himſelf as one who expected to be beſieg'd by his Enemies, and not viſited by his Friends. Thoſe he had ſent out to attend the Emperor *Conrade*, carry'd with them that Spirit he had inſtill'd into 'em; for they omitted no Opportunity of incommoding the *Germans* in their March, ſo that frequent Differences aroſe between 'em, which often ended in Blows, and Blood was drawn on both ſides. The Emperor had commanded 'em to diſpoſe themſelves in Ambuſcades on both ſides of the Army in their March, and to kill, as they did without Mercy, ſuch as ſtraggled never ſo little from the Body of the Army, which for that Reaſon, not being able to march at any Compaſs, ſuffer'd extreamly for want of Proviſions; and when the *Greeks*, by the Emperor's Permiſſion, ſold any to the neceſſitous *Germans*, they firſt mingled Quick-lime among the Flower, which was to make Bread for the Soldiers; who being extream hungry had not time to diſcover the cruel Cheat, by which means a ſtrange Mortality rag'd among 'em. But this was not all; the Gates of all the Towns in their Paſſage were by the Emperor's Order ſhut againſt 'em, and when they went to buy their Victuals from the Inhabitants upon the

the Walls, they were first oblig'd to send their Money up in Baskets let down for that purpose, which when the treacherous Villains had receiv'd, they return'd only Derision instead of Commodities in Exchange for their Silver. In a Word, there was no Villany omitted, which either the Emperor himself did not act against 'em, or committed to the Conduct of others; that thereby their Posterity might for ever hereafter be deterr'd from invading the Territories of the Empire.

And that nothing might be wanting to compleat the Ruin of an Army, which otherwise might easily have triumph'd over all the East, *Manuel*, so soon as he understood what Preparations were making for this second Crusade, secretly acquainted *Mamut*, the Nephew of *Solyman*, Sultan of *Iconium*, with it, and press'd him vigorously to take up Arms against this Army of the Crusades which he was like to have upon his Hands; whereupon the Sultan immediately sent to all the Princes of his Nation to join in Defence of their common Interest against the Christians, and before one could well think it possible, had a most formidable Army rais'd, and sent to his Assistance.

By these Artifices *Manuel* effected the Ruin of an Army, which might otherwise have been invincible, whereby he has render'd his Name odious to all Posterity; and was in some Measure punish'd by a War which about that time broke out between him and *Roger*, King of *Sicily*. That Prince, preserving the hereditary Aversion his Family had conceiv'd against that of *Manuel*, omitted no Opportunities of annoying the Emperor. Wherefore taking the Advantage of some Discontents among the Inhabitants of *Corcyra*, who thought themselves oppress'd by too heavy Exactions, he first seiz'd on that, and then coasting along without Control, he took *Corinth*, *Thebes*, and most of the principal Towns in *Bœotia*, which he plunder'd, and dividing

His Wars with Roger King of Sicily.

part of the Spoil among his Soldiers, return'd laden home with the reſt.

Manuel was at once afflicted and provok'd at theſe Proceedings, and breathing nothing but Revenge, declar'd War againſt the *Sicilians*. Accordingly he collected all the Standing-Forces of the Empire into one Body, rais'd new Levies both of Horſe and Foot, mann'd out a formidable Fleet, invited the *Venetians* into his Aſſiſtance, and declar'd *Stephen* and *Axuchus* Generals in chief againſt *Roger*: Tho' he follow'd ſhortly after in Perſon, knowing how much his Preſence would animate the Soldiers, and began the War with the Siege of *Corcyra*, or *Corfu*, the chief Town in the Iſland ſo nam'd. Here obſerving the ſtrong Situation of the Place, that it was ſecured with ſtrong Walls, and thoſe Walls defended with convenient Towers, he was enrag'd at the Treachery of his Men, who ſuffer'd it to fall with ſo much Eaſe into the Hands of *Roger*. At firſt he ſummon'd the Garriſon to ſurrender, who anſwering him no otherwiſe than with Showers of Arrows from the Walls, he gave Orders for an Aſſault, which was puſh'd on with great Bravery by the *Romans*, 'till having loſt great Numbers of their Men, and *Stephen* their General among the reſt, they were oblig'd to retire. Shortly after the *Romans* renew'd the Attack, in which the Emperor loſt four hundred of the beſt Men in his Army, which Calamity was ſucceeded by another of a more fatal Conſequence; for tho' *Manuel* had from the Beginning taken all neceſſary Precautions to prevent any Miſunderſtanding between the *Romans* and his Auxiliary *Venetians*, yet there aroſe between 'em an unhappy Quarrel, which beginning in ſome trivial Diſputes, ended at length in Blood; for when *Axuchus* found the *Venetians* would not be brought to Reaſon by fair Means, he drew out the *Roman* Guards againſt 'em, and drove 'em to their Ships; whither when they were forc'd, after much

Slaugh-

Slaughter on both Sides, they renewed the Fight by Sea, and having burnt ſeveral of the Emperor's Ships, they ſeiz'd on the Admiral, on board of which they adorn'd a profligate Black with the Imperial Ornaments, and with a mock Solemnity ſalured him Emperor in Deriſion of *Manuel*, who, as we obſerv'd before, was of a ſwarthy Complexion. Tho' the Emperor was highly provok'd at this Indignity, yet dreading the Effects of a popular Commotion, and with a wonderful Diſſimulation concealing his Reſentments for the preſent, he ſent ſome of their Nation, who had the Honour to be employ'd near his own Perſon, with Offers of an Accommodation, and Promiſes of Forgiveneſs for what was paſt, provided they would return to a Participation of the War, and once more unite their Arms with his againſt him he call'd their common Enemy. By this prudent Condeſcenſion a Pacification was effected, the Siege renew'd, and the Town aſſaulted both by Sea and Land; 'till the Beſieg'd, who had made a vigorous Defence ſo long as they conceiv'd any Hopes of Relief, but deſpairing now of *Roger*'s Aſſiſtance, ſurrender'd upon honourable Conditions, and ſome of 'em entring into the Emperor's Pay, among whom was *Theodorus Capellanus*, who had been their Governor, the reſt return'd into *Sicily*.

The Emperor leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in the Town, which he found now to be of ſo conſiderable a Conſequence, prepar'd to carry the War into *Sicily* it ſelf, but was overtaken by a Storm, which diſperſt his Fleet, ſunk ſeveral of his Ships, and ſuffer'd himſelf and the Tranſports to eſcape with great Difficulty to *Aulon*, from whence he march'd with ſome of the choiceſt Troops of his Army againſt the *Servians*, who taking their Advantage from the preſent Troubles, had infeſted the neighbouring Provinces of the Empire, and committed the Proſecution of the *Sicilian* War to

the Conduct of *Michael Palæologus*, who by the Emperor's Order went to *Venice*, were he rais'd Recruits for his Army; with which he march'd into *Calabria*, by the Advice of *Alexander*, *Roger*'s Kinsman, who having been disoblig'd by the King revolted to the *Romans*, and persuaded 'em to translate the War into his own Country, where he frequently defeated *Roger*'s Forces, took several Towns, and sent great Numbers of Captives to the Emperor; who in the mean time pressing hard upon the *Servians*, they summon'd the *Hungarians* to their Assistance, and for some time made a tolerable Resistance; but being at length overthrown, *Manuel* carrry'd the War into *Hungary*, where he raz'd several of their Cities, and return'd with a great Booty to *Constantinople*: From whence he shortly after made another Expedition against 'em, but upon Submission granted 'em a Peace; which however was of no long Continuance, for they were accus'd of favouring *Andronicus Comnenus*'s Designs upon the Empire, whereupon the War commenc'd, and was manag'd for a considerable time with various Fortune on both sides.

Andronicus's *ambitious Designs.*

Andronicus, of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter, was Cousin-German to the Emperor, and being a Man of an haughty aspiring Temper, had for a long time privately affected the Empire; of which *Manuel* was sufficiently sensible, but having no plain Proofs against him, he rather chose narrowly to observe than openly to punish him: But being now justly provok'd at him for his Practices with the *Hungarians* and other States, and incens'd against him by all his Relations, for his incestuous Conversation with *Eudocia*, the Emperor's Niece, he committed him to close Custody; hoping by the Inconveniences of a severe Restraint to break his intractable Mind, and teach him his Duty. But *Andronicus*'s Obstinacy was invincible; he was so far from learning the Lesson his Calamities ought to have

taught

taught him, that his whole Thoughts were bent upon his Escape, which would make him capable of declaring himself more openly against the Emperor: And tho' he effected it shortly after, yet he was presently taken again, and more severely handled than before; 'till a forc'd Submission reconcil'd him for the present to the Emperor, tho' in the Issue he made it appear that he was of a Nature not to be oblig'd, as shall be shown in its proper Place.

In the mean time *Manuel* having, by the Pope's Intervention, concluded a Peace with *Roger*, and in a great measure check'd the unquiet *Hungarians*, took a Progress into the East; and marching through *Armenia* arriv'd at *Antioch*, were the Inhabitants receiv'd him openly with much Respect, yet they beheld him with an unfriendly and jealous Eye. The Design of this Expedition was rather to show himself to the Eastern Provinces, than effect any thing material there; for having continu'd some time at *Antioch*, where he was entertain'd with Shows and Festivals, he return'd to *Constantinople*; but was assaulted by the *Turks* in his Passage, who kill'd several of his Men, and took part of his Equipage. A. D. 1162. Manuel *at* Antioch.

Being arriv'd at *Constantinople*, and angry at the late Behaviour of the *Turks*, he began to reflect on the Posture of their Affairs in *Asia minor*, where they still maintain'd their Dominion, tho' not so extensive as it had been formerly: For a War breaking out between *Solyman*'s Successor, and *Musat*, Sultan of *Iconium*, it serv'd very much to the weakening of their Nation. This happen'd in the Reign of the late Emperor, who assisting the one against the other, was in the end deceiv'd by both. But *Musat* in time getting the whole Kingdom of the *Turks* into his Hands, at his Death divided it among his three Sons; to *Clisastblan* his Eldest he bequeath'd *Iconium*, the Metropolis, with all its Dependances; to *Jagupasan* his Second, or rather his Son-in-Law, he gave *Amasia*, *Ancyra*, with the fruitful Country of *Cappadocia*, and the adjacent *His Behaviour towards the* Turks.

Territories; but the rich Cities of *Cæsaria* and *Sebastia* he allotted to *Dadunes* his youngest. These Brethren being thus in Possession of their Father's Kingdom, formerly belonging to the *Roman* Empire, fell out quickly among themselves; the Sultan of *Iconium* seeking the Destruction of *Jagupasan*, who was influenc'd by the same Thoughts against him. The Emperor in the mean time sate still as an idle Spectator, wishing the Destruction of both, and privately incens'd the one against the other, tho' at length he more openly favour'd *Jagupasan*, who by vertue of his Assistance overthrew his Brother, and obtain'd a memorable Victory over him; so that the Sultan, grown weary of the Quarrel, not only courted the Emperor's Favour by his Ambassadors, but went in Person to *Constantinople*, where he was honourably receiv'd, and treated with all the Magnificence imaginable.

Among other Entertainments contriv'd for the mutual Diversion of the two Princes, a busie *Turk* undertook to fly the Space of a Furlong by vertue of artificial Wings, and to take his Flight from the Top of the Tower which stood in the *Hypodrome*. The whole World were surpriz'd and intent upon so desperate an Undertaking, the Emperor himself dissuading him from it, and the Sultan doubtful of the Event. The Time appointed being come, the Undertaker appear'd on the Turret, having a large white Garment on, gather'd into many Foldings for the better Reception of the Wind; and having for some time suspended the Expectation of the Beholders, who derided him, and provok'd him at length to perform what he had so unadvisedly promis'd, he hover'd a while with his Arms, as Birds do with their Wings, the better to gather the Wind, and committed himself with his vain Hopes to the Air; but instead of mounting as he had promis'd, like *Icarus* of old, he tumbled headlong down with such a Force that he broke his Neck, his Arms, and Legs, with almost every Bone in his Body,

Body, to the great Satisfaction of the Citizens, who with an inhospitable Freedom jeer'd the *Turks* when ever they met 'em, for this extravagant Attempt of their Country-man; 'till the Emperor, who observ'd the Sultan to be inwardly displeas'd at their Insolence, commanded a Stop to be put to it.

After this, the Emperor, who was willing to make the Sultan Witness of his prodigious Wealth, show'd him his Treasury, and gratify'd him with so many Royal Presents, that the *Turk* pretended he knew not which to admire most, the abundant Riches or magnificent Liberality of the Emperor. In Token of Thankfulness he embrac'd *Manuel*, call'd him Father, and promis'd at his Return to drive *Dadunes* out of *Sebastia*, and restore it to the Emperor. Part of this Promise he carefully observ'd, for being return'd to *Iconium* he rais'd an Army with which he drove *Dadunes* out of *Sebastia*, and having seiz'd on the Dominions of *Jagupasan*, who dy'd at the Beginning of the War, and by that Means render'd himself Master of all the *Turks* held in *Asia minor*, he forgot all former Courtesies; and seeing himself at the Head of a powerful Empire, he invaded *Manuel*'s Territories, from whom he took *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, with the adjacent Territories, plundering and destroying all that lay before him, killing the most resolute, and leading the rest into Captivity.

Manuel, who thought at first he had oblig'd a Friend, found now on the contrary that he had arm'd an Enemy against him; wherefore to repress the Outrages of the perfidious *Turks*, he pass'd with a powerful Army over into *Asia*, where finding the Barbarians rov'd up and down at their Pleasure, he thought fit to fortifie *Dorylæum*, the better to restrain their Incursions; and that his Soldiers might with more Chearfulness undertake the Work, he carry'd the first Basket of Stones himself, which serv'd as an Example to the rest, so that in a short time the City was defended with strong Walls and deep Ditches,

maugre all the Oppoſition of the *Turks*, who continually alarm'd the *Romans*, and endeavour'd to drive 'em from their Works. With the like Care and Induſtry he fortify'd *Subleum*, another ſtrong Hold, and having left ſufficient Garriſons in both, he return'd to *Conſtantinople*. Theſe Garriſons very much gaul'd the *Turks*, notwithſtanding which they continu'd their Hoſtilities and Incroachments upon the Borders. This oblig'd the Emperor to expoſtulate with the Sultan, to remind him of the great Benefits he had receiv'd from him, and to reprove him for his Ingratitude. Theſe Complaints of the Emperor were anſwer'd by Complaints as earneſtly urg'd from the Sultan, who vehemently upbraided *Manuel* for his Inconſtancy, and Breach of Promiſe, but inſiſted on nothing ſo much as his fortifying thoſe Places, contrary, as he ſaid, to the League between 'em.

This Diſpoſition in the two Princes, and their mutual Remonſtrances, were look'd upon as the Preludes of an enſuing War; for they were both Men of Reſolution, impatient of Injuries, and revengeful. The Sultan was more cautious and circumſpect, managing all by his Lieutenants; the Emperor more fiery, open, and adventurous, being the firſt to reſtrain the Encroachments of his Neighbours, and fighting in Perſon at the Head of his Armies: And now finding the Sultan was not to be oblig'd by fair means, he rais'd ſuch an Army, conſiſting of *Latins* and *Scythians* as well as of his own Subjects, as if he intended not only to revenge the Affronts he had receiv'd from the preſent Sultan, but to call him to an Account for all the Injuries his Predeceſſors and the *Roman* Empire had ſuſtain'd from the whole Nation, which he prepar'd utterly to extirpate.

With theſe Thoughts, and at the Head of his numerous Forces, the angry Emperor paſs'd over into *Aſia*, directing his Marches with much Care and Circumſpection, for fear of any ſudden Attempts from

from the Barbarians, and drawing a Trench where-ever he lodg'd his Army. The *Turks* in the mean time ſhowing themſelves in ſmall Parties, and watching their Advantages, inſulted ſometimes one part of the Army, and ſometimes the other, deſtroying the Forage, and infecting the Water, where-ever they knew the Emperor was to paſs; which exceedingly incommoded the *Romans*, who dy'd daily of the Flux.

In the mean time the Sultan, having receiv'd a powerful Aſſiſtance from the *Perſians*, thought fit, before he had recourſe to the Extremities of War, to try the Emperor by his Ambaſſadors, who demanded a Peace of him, and that upon ſuch Terms as he himſelf ſhould think fit to grant. This made *Manuel* to ſummon a Council of War, in which they who were the moſt experienc'd in the Wars advis'd that the Sultan's Offers ought to be embraced, that an honourable Peace ought to be preferr'd to the Dangers and Uncertainties of War, as conſiſting more with the Emperor's own Honour, and the Safety of the Empire. In this they were with great Vehemence oppos'd by the young unskilful Courtiers, who having hardly ever heard the Sound of a Trumpet, but puſh'd on by a falſe ill-grounded Courage, declar'd aloud for the War; to whom the unfortunate Emperor adher'd, and diſmiſs'd the Ambaſſadors with a ſurly arrogant Anſwer: And when the Sultan once more courted him to a Peace, he made no other Reply, but that *he would come and let him know his Pleaſure at* Iconium. *Manuel's Indiſcretion.*

The Sultan, perceiving the Emperor deaf to all Motions of a Reconciliation, ſeiz'd on the Straits of *Zibrica*, through which the *Romans* were to paſs in their Removal from *Myriocephalon*, an old ruinous Caſtle, and of a Name ominous to the *Romans*, as it appear'd afterwards by the Event. The Entrance into theſe Straits was by a long Valley, flank'd on each Side by high Mountains and craggy Rocks, which at once afforded

afforded a painful and amazing Paſſage to the Traveller.

In an inauſpicious Hour the deſperate Emperor enter'd this Valley, having neither provided for the clearing of the Paſſages, nor Safety of the Carriages, but marching as through a plain and open Country, tho' he had been aſſur'd before that the *Turks* were ſtrongly poſſeſs'd both of the Straits and Mountains, in order to diſpute his Paſſage. So that the *Romans* were no ſooner enter'd, but the *Turks* poured deadly Showers of Arrows upon 'em from the Mountains and broken Cliffs, which did the Execution they deſired. However they of the Van-guard caſting themſelves into the Form of a Wedge, and having join'd their Targets in the manner of a Pent-houſe cloſe over their Heads, by degrees drove the *Turks* out of thoſe Straits, and forc'd 'em farther up into the Mountains; and having recover'd the Top of a Hill they there encamp'd themſelves, waiting for the reſt to join 'em.

In this manner the whole Army might probably have paſs'd, had they not been encumber'd by their Carriages, which lengthen'd their March, and gave the *Turks* time to fall like a Torrent upon 'em from the Mountains, which put 'em into the greateſt Confuſion; for being continually preſs'd by the growing Multitudes of their Enemies, who had the Advantage of the Ground againſt 'em, they were by degrees hemm'd in on every ſide, and had not Power left either to retreat or advance, but fell a Sacrifice to the Emperor's Indiſcretion, and the Fury of the Barbarians. The Slaughter was ſo great, that the Vallies were in a manner cramm'd with dead Bodies, and the Rivers overflow'd with Blood. Men and Beaſts, Chriſtians and *Turks*, the Valiant and the Coward, lay together in promiſcuous Heaps; for during the Action a violent Wind rais'd the Sand of that deſart Country as into a thick Darkneſs, ſo that both Sides fought with an undiſtinguiſhing Fury, killing

occaſions the Loſs of his Army.

killing Friend and Foe in that horrible Confusion. The Emperor, whose Courage was equal to his Folly, seeing the Day irrecoverably lost, forc'd his Way, with such as had the Boldness to follow him, through the thickest Ranks of his Enemies, and bore off with him the visible Marks of the Danger he had escaped. Being thus disengag'd, he mov'd directly towards the Van-guard of his Army, and observ'd sometimes as he pass'd along some of his own Subjects and most intimate Friends beset and overpower'd by the prevailing *Turks*, without being able to stay and relieve 'em; at others he was forc'd to ride over the Bodies of his nearest Relations, either dead or dying, who with a dumb Horror severely reproach'd him for his fatal Indiscretion. However at length, with much Difficulty, he escap'd to the advanc'd Legions; where wounded, weary, and ready to faint for Thirst, he commanded Water to be brought him from a neighbouring Stream, which when he had tasted, and perceiving it to be infected, with a deep Sigh he said, *How unfortunately have I tasted of Christian Blood?* to which a mutinous Soldier, who overheard him, instantly reply'd, *This is not the first Time, O Emperor, thou hast drunk the Blood of Christians, but didst even then drink it to an Intoxication, when first by thy cruel Exactions thou didst oppress and devour thy needy Subjects.* Tho' this reproachful Speech imbitter'd the Sense of his present Calamities, yet knowing how justly he had deserv'd it, he pass'd it by in Silence, as if he had not heard it.

Shortly after this, *Andronicus Contostephanus*, and such other Officers as had commanded in the Rear, and escap'd the Fury of the *Turks*, came up to the Emperor; and he had now time to reflect on the many brave Men he had lost, and the Danger he was in. Among the Slain were reckon'd *Baldwin*, the Emperor's second Wife *Matilda*'s Brother, and *Manuel*'s own Nephew *Andronicus Bataza*; who marching

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ing with an Army out of *Paphlagonia* and *Heraclea Pontica* againſt the *Turks* in *Amaſia*, was intercepted by the way, and ſlain. The Miſeries of the Day were more than equal'd by the Horrors of the enſuing Night: The Chriſtians were in a foreign hoſtile Country, encompaſs'd by their Enemies on all Sides, who alarm'd every Quarter of their Camp, threatning, with an inſolent Barbarity, to deſtroy 'em all at the Return of Day; whereupon they began, whilſt living, to number themſelves among their dead Companions. No one drew a deeper Draught of this ſorrowful Cup than the Emperor, who being himſelf the Occaſion of all theſe Calamities, had a double Portion: Having called the chief Officers together, after ſome Deliberation he told 'em, *he was reſolv'd to fly, and ſecure himſelf, and advis'd 'em to ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could.* Which infamous Reſolution being by chance overheard by the Soldier before-mention'd, who ſtood then at the Tent Door, he ask'd him in a reproachful manner, *If it was not he who had led 'em into thoſe Dangers, and to ſuch invincible Neceſſities? Had they more reaſon to complain of the Barbarians, or him, who had brought 'em into that Vale of Miſeries and Mouth of Hell; and would he now betray 'em by a ſhameful Flight, and leave 'em as Sheep deſign'd for the Slaughter?* The Emperor was touch'd to the Quick with this ſevere Reprehenſion, and therefore laying aſide all Thoughts but of Fighting, he reſolv'd to expect the worſt; tho' his Enemies on every ſide were ready to devour him; Help he ſaw none at hand, and nothing remain'd but Death and Deſpair.

An unexpected Deliverance.

Whilſt *Manuel* labour'd under theſe Agonies, Divine Providence touch'd the Sultan's Heart with an unwonted Tenderneſs and Pity to diſtreſs'd Majeſty. He, having recall'd the *Turks*, who by break of Day began to aſſault the Camp, preſented the Emperor, by the Hands of *Gabras*, a Man of greateſt Authority

rity next himself, with a Horse richly caparison'd, and a Sword of an inestimable Value. These Presents were attended with Proposals for a Peace upon such Terms as the Emperor, in that Exigency of his Affairs, could not reject. Whilst *Gabras* was, in an eloquent Speech, at once comforting the Emperor for his present Misfortunes, and recommending to him the Study of Peace, he observ'd a rich yellow Robe which the Emperor wore over his Armor, and concluded with telling him that Colour was not proper for a Soldier, but was ominous and portended ill Luck; at which the Emperor with a Smile gave it him, and receiving the Presents sent him from the Sultan, sign'd the Peace: Which being thus concluded beyond all Mens Expectations, *Manuel* prepar'd to march home, desiring to return another Way than that by which he came, on purpose to avoid offending his Eyes with the Sight of those he had lost in the Straits; but his Guides, either through Design or Necessity, conducted him back the same Way, where he could not but behold the lamentable Effects of his late Overthrow: The Straits were fill'd up, the Vallies rais'd into Hills, and the Forests lay cover'd with the Carcasses of the Slain: Every Man, as he past by, call'd with a doleful Voice upon his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had lost; and they were all so touch'd with that inexpressible Scene of Woe, that they once more seem'd to be surrounded by the merciless *Turks*, and again to repeat those Dangers they had lately with so much Difficulty escap'd.

Having at length pass'd those doleful Straits, the *Turks* appear'd again in their Rear; for the Sultan, repenting that he had suffer'd the Prey to escape out of his Hands, gave leave to such as would to pursue 'em, who slew many of 'em, especially of the Sick and Wounded, who could not keep up with the rest. After many Inconveniencies, the Emperor re-conducted the Army to *Chonas*, where he distributed

buted Money among those that were wounded, and having discharg'd 'em proceeded forward to *Philadelphia*, where he staid some time to refresh himself, and attend the Cure of his Wounds.

Among other Conditions of the Peace, which the Emperor had oblig'd himself to observe, one was, That the Fortifications of *Dorylæum* and *Sublæum* should be raz'd: This the Emperor, being now out of Danger, and considering the great Importance of those two Places, was very unwilling to perform; however he did it by halves, dismantling *Sublæum*, but continuing *Dorylæum* in the same Condition it was in before the Wars; and when the Sultan exhorted him by his Ambassadors to a better Observance of the Treaty, he answer'd, *That what had been extorted from him during his Necessities could be of no Force*, and therefore refus'd a Compliance: At which the Sultan was so enrag'd, that he sent *Atapacus*, at the Head of twenty four thousand of his best Soldiers, to waste and destroy all the Provinces and Cities without Distinction down to the Sea-side, strictly commanding him, as a Proof of his Obedience, to bring him some of the Sea Water, an Oar, and some of the Sand. These Orders were executed with so much Resolution, that *Atapacus* immediately laid all *Phrygia* waste, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child; but as he was returning with a prodigious Booty, he was met in his Passage over the River *Meander* by some of the Emperor's Forces, who had been posted there for that purpose, and who cut him off together with his whole Army, and recover'd the Prey. The *Turks* were so dispirited by this Overthrow, that they grew less arrogant for the future, tho' they never observ'd any Peace, but watch'd all Opportunities for enlarging their Dominions.

Manuel having thus in some measure secur'd himself and the Empire from the *Turks*, was too jealous and active to enjoy long the Tranquility his late Dangers had

had purchas'd. *Frederick* the First, surnam'd *Barbarossa*, was at that time Emperor of *Germany*, who having pacify'd the Affairs of that Country, and made the States of *Italy* submit to his Pleasure, appear'd as a dangerous Rival to the distrustful *Manuel*; who was sensible that if any one Prince should become absolute in the West, he might easily insult the Eastern Empire, which had been so considerably weaken'd by the prevailing Power of the Barbarians. Of this he had been aware long before, and therefore maintain'd, at a vast Expence, his Pensioners in most of the *Italian* Courts, by which means there was scarce any thing transacted even in the Conclave of which he had not an Account. By his Munificence he had brought over the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, the *Pisans*, and the Inhabitants of *Ancona* to his Interest; and of those he made frequent use to embarrass *Frederick*'s Affairs. *Frederick*, who was sensible of this Proceeding, knew not how to declare himself openly against *Manuel*, but sate down before *Ancona*, of which he pretended to be the Lord in chief, and which he knew was particularly inclin'd to the Eastern Emperor. The Siege lasted longer than was at first expected, and the *Germans* were at length forc'd to quit it, the Inhabitants undergoing with great Chearfulness all the Difficulties attending a Siege, to which they were encourag'd by *Manuel*'s Ambassadors, who continu'd all the while within the Town.

We have nothing else considerable of this Emperor 'till his Death, except that, of an ill Emperor, he, in the latter end of his Reign, set up for a worse Divine; proceeding so far in the Heat of his Disputes, as to defend even some of *Mahomet*'s Absurdities. This created great Divisions in the Church, whilst some adher'd to the Truth out of Conscience sake, and others, blinded by their Interest, implicitly follow'd the Emperor: But Death shortly after put an end to these Disputes, which he manag'd with so much Application.

Manuel an ill Divine.

He

A. D. 1180. He was taken ill in *March*, and tho' he dy'd not 'till the Month of *September* following, yet he could not be prevail'd upon all that while to settle the Affairs of State, and appoint a Guardian to his Son, who being young was uncapable of governing himself. The Reason of this was, that confiding in judicial Astrology, he affirm'd he had fourteen Years of Life still remaining, during which he was to have the Pleasure of obtaining new Mistresses, and recovering several Towns from the *Barbarians*. But finding at length the approach of Death, and that it was irresistible, he renounc'd his former Vanities, and took the Habit of a Monk, the Sight of which drew Tears from his Assistants, in Consideration of the Imbecility of Human Affairs. He did not long survive this Change, but dy'd in the thirty sixth Year of his Reign, the twenty ninth of *Frederick Barbarossa*, the twenty sixth of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, *A. D.* 1180.

His Death.

and Character. He was a Prince whose good and bad Qualities were so intermixt, that it was no easie thing to determine which had the Predominance. The Beginning of his Reign was so propitious, that he seem'd deservedly to enjoy that Dignity, which had been conferr'd on him in Prejudice to the Right of his Elder Brother. He was naturally brave, fearless, hardy, daring, and ready in the Execution of what he had undertaken. He delighted very much in War, and yet took little Care to encourage and reward Military Men, especially towards the latter End of his Reign, when he had the greatest need of 'em: And indeed he seem'd properly design'd for War, for in times of Peace no Prince was ever more dissolute in all manner of Debauches, which threw him upon Extravagances, that oblig'd him to oppress his Subjects with illegal Taxes, and most scandalous Impositions. He was remarkable for his Cruelty, which proceeded from his great Jealousie and Superstition. The most execrable of all his Qualities was his Perfidiousness, which made him

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commit the blackeſt and moſt horrid Crimes upon occaſion of the ſecond Cruſade, and thereby render'd his Name eternally infamous to the whole Earth.

Manuel being dead, he was ſucceeded by his Son *Alexius Comnenus*, a Child of about twelve Years of Age, who had the Name of Emperor, but the Authority reſted in his Mother, and ſuch of his Father's Relations as ſhe thought fit to truſt; who govern'd the Empire no better than *Phaeton* is ſaid to have guided the Chariot of the Sun; the young Prince in the mean time being ſuffer'd to indulge himſelf in his Pleaſures, unable to diſcern what would contribute moſt to the Honour and Reputation of the Empire, or what would prove moſt prejudicial to it: Whilſt they, who manag'd the Affairs, ſtudy'd nothing leſs than the Care of his Education, and follow'd every one his private Intereſt and particular Inclinations. Some, who were taken with the Beauty of the young Empreſs, for which ſhe was worthily celebrated, made their Courtſhip to her, and ſpent their Time in Gallantries, and amorous Amuſements; others enrich'd themſelves out of the publick Treaſury; and a third ſort, who were the moſt dangerous, had greater Things in View, aiming at nothing leſs than the Empire it ſelf.

ALEXIUS II.

The ill Management of the Miniſtry proves the Ruin of the young Emperor.

Whilſt the Court was thus taken up, and no Regard was had to the publick Affairs, the *Turks* without any Reſiſtance invaded the Frontiers and took *Sozopolis*, with ſeveral other Towns in *Phrygia*, and daily encroach'd upon the Provinces of the Empire; this rais'd in the People a general Diſlike to the preſent Government, and prepar'd 'em for any Innovation.

Among thoſe who endeavour'd to gain the Affections of the Empreſs, no one ſucceeded ſo well as *Alexius*, at that time Preſident of the Council, and nearly related to the Emperor, with whom he was thought to be more familiar than conſiſted with her Honour, and that by her Aſſiſtance he hop'd to be advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, which was adjudg'd no difficult

matter to be effected in that Conjuncture. At this the other Grandees of the Court were alarm'd, and highly reſented the great Authority of *Alexius*, not out of any tender regard to the young Emperor, but a jealous Concern for their own Safety.

Andronicus, of whom mention has been made already, was quickly inform'd of theſe different Factions, and divided Intereſts at Court; having a long time affected the Purple, he was too ſagacious not to think this the fitteſt Time to attempt the obtaining it. He was a Man of a haughty turbulent Spirit, and for that reaſon had liv'd either as a Priſoner or an Exile, during the greateſt Part of the late Reign; reſiding at preſent at *Oenæum*, whither he had been confin'd for ſome new Attempts, by the late Emperor. He was a Man of great Addreſs, and had highly recommended himſelf to the Commonalty, and ſome alſo among the Nobility, by his inſinuating popular Behaviour. That which *Manuel* had deſign'd to curb and reſtrain him, he now made uſe of as a Step to aſcend the Imperial Throne; there was one Clauſe, among many other Things in the Oath of Obedience, which the late Emperor had forc'd him to take to himſelf and his Son *Alexius*, whereby he was oblig'd to diſcover whatever he knew at any time contriv'd or attempted that was prejudicial to the Honour and Safety of their Perſons, and with the utmoſt of his Power to oppoſe it. In Obedience to this Oath, as was pretended, he writ Letters full of Reſpect to the young Emperor, and *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, in which having profeſs'd a profound Veneration for the Memory of the late Emperor, and implicit Love and Obedience to the Perſon and Authority of the young Prince, he complain'd in high Terms of *the unbounded Authority of the Preſident, and his ſcandalous Familiarity with the Empreſs, ſo notorious*, as he ſaid, *to the whole World*. That *this could not be ſuffer'd without a Violation of the Imperial Dignity, which he was bound by Oath to aſſert to the utmoſt*,

most, and to die rather than see the young Emperor in so notorious a manner insulted. These Letters had their desired Effect: *Andronicus* was consider'd as a Man of great Experience, and the only Person fit to reform the Abuses of State. Being inform'd by his Emissaries at Court of the Peoples Disposition towards him, he left *Oenæum*, and mov'd towards *Constantinople*; declaring, where-ever he came, That he was marching in Obedience to the Oath made to the late Empetor, and to redeem *Alexius* out of the Hands of his Enemies, who like sensual Brutes fed upon the Fat of the Land. In this manner he came as far as *Paphlagonia*, being receiv'd by the People as their Deliverer and Defender; for he had a Tongue so fluent, that he was able to convince the most obstinate, and soften the *Barbarian*: His Words were attended with Tears, which flow'd as it were from two Fountains, and commiserated the deplorable Condition of his Country, that call'd aloud for his Assistance. The Numbers of those Country People, that were by these Artifices drawn over to him in his March, were incredible, so that no one dared to oppose him 'till he came into *Bithynia*, where *John Ducas*, Governor of *Nice*, shut the Gates against him, as an Enemy of the State: The same Treatment he met with at *Nicomedia*; notwithstanding which he continu'd his March, and having, near a Castle call'd *Charace*, defeated *Andronicus Angelus*, whom the President had sent out against him, he proceeded forward, encamp'd a little above *Chalcedon*, almost opposite, and in sight of *Constantinople*.

Andronicus *marches towards* Constantinople.

The Citizens were by this generally prepar'd for his Reception, courting him by Letters, and urging him to be speedy in the Execution of his just and honourable Designs; for the President had so provok'd 'em by his Tyrannical Proceedings, his Arbitrary Exactions, and Cruel Oppressions, that he was universally detested by them; particularly *Mary*, the young Emperor's Sister by the Mother's side, who was highly offended

to see the vast Treasure, which her Royal Progenitors had been so long hoarding up, and the Empire it self become a Prey to the Ambition of one Man, and the Lust of a Woman, to whom she had always expres'd an irreconcileable Aversion, stirr'd up the People against 'em, and rais'd a Sedition, which occasion'd the spilling of much Blood, and was with great Difficulty appeas'd. The President perceiving how unable he was to contend with *Andronicus* by Land, had in the mean time mann'd out the Imperial Fleet, which was committed to the Conduct of *Contostephanus*, who claim'd it as his Right, and was order'd to prevent *Andronicus* his Passage over the *Bosphorus*; but he, watching his Opportunity, revolted with the whole Fleet, which, being the greatest Stroke, determin'd the Fortune of the War, and secur'd to *Andronicus* all his Pretences. For now *Alexius* had no longer any Authority in the City, where the Citizens revil'd him to his Face, and with repeated Acclamations declar'd for *Andronicus*, the Guardian of the young Emperor, and Genius of the State. In the mean time *John* and *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his two Sons, whom the President had thrown into Prison, were set at Liberty, and the President himself, with those of his Faction, were clapp'd under a strong Guard 'till the Arrival of *Andronicus*, who was impatiently expected. *Alexius* himself, who but lately was attended by thousands, whom he could command with a Nod, and who was Emperor in every thing but the Name, was in a few Days after seated on a scurvy Jade, and with a Rag plac'd on the Top of a Reed in manner of an Ensign, carry'd before him, attended with the Scoffs and Execrations of the People, conducted to the Sea-side, and there thrown into a little Boat, which transported him to *Andronicus*, who having insulted him himself, and expos'd him to the severe Reprehensions of the Nobility about him, shortly after order'd his Eyes to be pluck'd out.

A Sedition in the City.

By this time all things having been manag'd and settled in the City, according to the Pleasure of *Andronicus*, he pass'd over, and was conducted into the City, attended with the Shouts and Acclamations of the People. The Emperor lay at that time with his Mother at a Royal Seat in the Country, which was done by *Andronicus* his Appointment, who, out of a pretended Respect to his Prince, went to wait on him first before he would be receiv'd into the City. Being come into his Presence he fell on the Ground, kiss'd his Feet, and wash'd 'em with his Tears, which he had ready at Command, as he had several Texts of Scripture, which he properly apply'd to the present purpose. He saluted the Empress with a Coldness that sufficiently express'd the Aversion he had to her. Andronicus *enters the City.*

Having staid some Days with the Emperor, he then march'd into the Imperial City, where, among other things, he went with a pretended Devotion to visit the late Emperor *Manuel*'s Grave, where he wept bitterly, roaring, as it were, with excess of Grief, to the great Admiration of those Spectators who were not acquainted with his great Talent of Dissimulation, and who therefore imputed it to the great Love he had for him, who had been his cruel Persecutor. When one of his Relations would have pull'd him from the Tomb, telling him he had indulg'd his Sorrows enough, he refus'd to be remov'd, urging that he had something in secret to say to the Dead. And accordingly, with his Hands lifted up, and his Eyes fix'd fast on the Tomb in the Posture of a Suppliant, he mov'd his Lips, and said something secretly, the Purport of which no Man can tell. Some said it was a Charm or Incantation, others, who were better acquainted with *Andronicus*, made a Speech for him, which they knew was more agreeable to his Temper, and which they compriz'd in Words like these. *I have thee now fast, my most cruel Persecutor, by whom I have been so often driven* Nicet. p. 166. Paris Edit.

driven to the laſt Extremity, an Outlaſt, and Wanderer upon the Face of the Earth. But now art thou confin'd to the Limits of this narrow Tomb, and, lock'd faſt in the Arms of Death, ſhalt ariſe no more 'till the laſt fatal Trump awake thee. Know thou that I will ſeverely avenge my ſelf upon thy Family, and, like a Lion poſſeſs'd of his Prey, will ſatiate my ſelf with Blood, when once I have maſter'd this Imperial City.

Having receiv'd the Submiſſion of the Citizens, and been acknowledg'd Protector of the Empire during the Minority of the young *Alexius*, he apply'd himſelf to the Management of the State, and recall'd to the Memory of that unhappy People the Days of old, and the Proſcriptions of *Marius*, *Sylla*, and the reſt, who, having trampled over the Liberties of their Country, dy'd their Swords in the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens. Many were murder'd, others depriv'd of Sight, and great Multitudes thrown into Priſon without any Cauſe aſſign'd, but the Will of the Tyrant, which proceeded either from ſome old Grudge, or for that they were of the Nobility, and wiſh'd well to *Alexius*. His Ears were open to all Accuſations, ſo that if any Man had conceiv'd a Prejudice to his Neighbour, his ready way to be reveng'd was to accuſe him of ſome pretended Crime to *Andronicus*. In this Confuſion the Father ſpar'd not the Son, nor the Son the Father; the Brother labour'd for the Brother's Deſtruction, and it often happen'd that the Accuſer and Accuſed ſhar'd in the common Fate.

His cruel Behaviour.

The firſt who taſted of his Cruelty was *Mary*, the Daughter of the late Emperor, who tho' ſhe had appear'd the moſt zealous to promote the Revolution, yet was ſhe poiſon'd by the Tyrant's Means, and her Husband is ſaid to have taſted of the ſame Cup, and to have dy'd ſhortly after. The very Favours and Commendations of this Tyrant were fatal; for thoſe whom he pretended moſt to eſteem to Day, were ſure to bleed to Morrow, ſo that they appear'd no other

than

than Victims deck'd out for the Altar; as if Death it ſelf had not been ſufficient unleſs it was aggravated by theſe Circumſtances. As yet the Empreſs was ſuffer'd to be near her Son, but when the Tyrant had polluted the Streets of *Conſtantinople* with his Murders and Maſſacres, then he began to reflect how much ſhe had oppos'd his Deſigns during the late Reign; and tho' there was no reaſon to think ſhe would ever be capable of hurting him in this, yet he reſolv'd to deſtroy her. Accordingly he exclaim'd publickly againſt her, call'd her Traitreſs, and a declar'd Enemy to the Emperor and the State, threatening once more to depart if ſhe were not remov'd from her Son's Preſence.

Tho' he would have done any thing ſooner than that, yet the unthinking Multitude, who were ſtill miſ-led by a wonderful Opinion of him, flock'd in great Numbers to the Patriarch's Houſe, and threaten'd to Mutiny if *Andronicus* was not oblig'd in that Point. Whereupon a Council was ſummon'd, conſiſting of ſuch as, for the moſt part, were too complaiſant to oppoſe the Tyrant's Pleaſure. In this Council ſhe was charg'd of Treaſon, as that ſhe by Letters ſhould invite *Bela*, King of *Hungary*, her Brother-in-Law, to invade the Empire. And that the Council might know before-hand what they were to do, *Leo Monaſteriotes*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicius*, and *Conſtantinus Petrenus*, who among others were ſummon'd to aſſiſt in it, were ſeiz'd by Order of *Andronicus*, and hardly eſcap'd the Fury of the Mob, for deſiring to know *Whether that Council was call'd by the Emperor's Conſent and Approbation?* The unhappy Empreſs was adjudg'd guilty of the Matters alledg'd againſt her; and ſhe, who not long before was one of the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt, and receiv'd a double Obedience from her Subjects, on account of her irreſiſtible Charms and Imperial Power, was now reduc'd to the utmoſt Miſery and Deſpair, deſerted by her Friends, and ſcorn'd even of her Keepers. In this Condition ſhe

lay not long, for *Andronicus*, to compleat his Villany, commanded her ſhortly after to be ſtrangled, and committed the Execution of it to *Pterigionites* the Eunuch, who was already ſtain'd with the Blood of *Mary*, and her Husband *Manuel*; *Andronicus* his own Son, and *Georgius Auguſtus*, having firſt refus'd ſo ungrateful an Office.

The Empreſs ſtrangled by Andronicus's Order,

All this while the Tyrant expreſs'd the tendereſt Love to the young Emperor, whom he took care to have ſolemnly crown'd by the Patriarch, he aſſiſting in Perſon with Tears in his Eyes, the Witneſſes of his inward Joy, as he would have it thought, upon that Occaſion; which made thoſe that obſerv'd him, and were not yet acquainted with his bloody Hypocriſie, to think the young Prince exceeding happy in ſo faithful and loyal a Protector and Counſellor: But having by this time got both the Emperor and Empire in his Power, and remov'd all thoſe whom he judg'd averſe to his Deſigns, he began more openly to declare himſelf. In a Council conſiſting chiefly of his own Favourites, he enlarged upon the preſent Dangers of the Empire, threaten'd at once with inteſtine Diviſions and foreign Invaſions, and requir'd their ſpeedy Advice in ſo great an Exigency; they watching their Cue, affirm'd the Empire would be irrecoverably loſt unleſs he was aſſociated to *Alexius*, and by his great Wiſdom and Experience divert the Storm, or teach the State to weather it; after which with one Voice they cry'd out, *Long live* Alexius *and* Andronicus, Roman *Emperors!* Which Acclamation was taken by others employ'd for that Purpoſe, and in a Moment communicated through the whole City. The young Emperor himſelf ſeem'd outwardly glad of ſo worthy a Companion, and congratulated him for his Advancement; whilſt the crafty Tyrant affected an Averſion to what he had ſo long coveted, and unwillingly ſuffer'd 'em to place him in the Imperial Seat, and adorn him with the Purple; and being, as it was cuſtomary, at his Coronation to partake of

ANDRONICUS. A. D. 1182.

the

the Blessed Sacrament, having receiv'd the Bread, and taken the Blessed Cup in his Hand, with a Countenance devoutly fram'd, and his Eyes cast up to Heaven, he solemnly swore by those dreadful Mysteries, that *he had taken upon him the Fellowship of the Empire for no other End, but to assist* Alexius, *his Cousin, in the Government, and support his Authority.* A dreadful Imprecation and proper Introduction to what follow'd soon after; for after he had spent a few Days in his feign'd Devotions, in the midst of which he secretly resolv'd upon the Death of *Alexius*, he summon'd his Council, who had done so many great things for him already, wherein the Inconveniency of many Governors was discoursed of at large, and how much a single Dominion was consistent with the Safety of the State, and that the Age of an old Eagle was more valuable than the Youth of a Lark. After which seasonable Preparation, they decreed that *Alexius* should be dethron'd; and as if that was not sufficient, he was shortly after condemn'd to die; which abominable Sentence was accordingly executed by *Stephanus Hagiochristophorites*, and some others, who entring the unhappy Prince's Chamber by Night, without any Regard had to his Dignity, or Compassion for his Youth and Innocency, cruelly strangled him with a Bow-string; and *Andronicus* coming in shortly after, spurn'd the dead Body with his Foot, branding the Memory of his Father with Perjury, and of his Mother with Whoredom.

who does the same by the young Emperor Alexius.

This was the unfortunate End of the young Emperor *Alexius*, who had not liv'd full fifteen Years, nor reign'd three, before he was cropt, like a Flower in the Bloom, by the execrable Hands of Treason and Parricide. And now *Andronicus* being Emperor without a Rival, as he possess'd his Predecessor's Dignity, so was he resolv'd to enjoy his intended Bride; for tho' he was no less than threescore and ten Years of Age, yet he thought himself a fit Match for *Ann*, the *French* King's Daughter, whom he marry'd, tho'

she

ſhe was no more than eleven Years old, and had before been betroth'd to *Alexius*.

Finding the People reproach'd him for the Breach of his Oath made to *Manuel* and *Alexius*, he by much Dexterity perſuaded the Biſhops to releaſe and abſolve him from it. For which preſumptuous Abſolution, thoſe very Biſhops, who had thereby exceeded their Commiſſion, were ſhortly after puniſh'd by *Andronicus* himſelf, who contemn'd 'em as Men forgetful of their Duties and Calling.

A. D. 1184. *Andronicus being now ſole Emperor, his great Tyranny.*

After this he apply'd himſelf without Intermiſſion to the Eſtabliſhment of his Power, ſparing neither Age, Sex, or Condition, where he conceiv'd he had reaſon to apprehend any Danger; ſo that every Day was diſtinguiſh'd by the Execution of ſome brave Man or other, and Murders were grown ſo common, that they began to be unregarded. Some were depriv'd of their Sight, others hang'd, ſome poiſon'd, and not a few burnt alive: But that which aggravated theſe undeſerved Puniſhments was, that all the while the mercileſs Tyrant would pretend to be ſorry for 'em, and with Tears in his Eyes ſeem to blame the Severity of the Law, which would not ſuffer him to ſhow Mercy to ſo many, whom he thought brave Men. Nor did *Andronicus* rage only againſt ſuch as were near him at *Conſtantinople*, but extended his Cruelty to the remoteſt Provinces of the Empire; ſo that all thoſe who were the leaſt inclinable to the Family of the Emperor *Manuel*, were forc'd to fly as from an enraged Lion, or an irreſiſtible Torrent that bore down all before it. *Iſaac Comnenus*, *Manuel*'s near Kinſman, took Refuge in *Cyprus*, where he turn'd Tyrant himſelf, and is ſaid as much to have exceeded *Andronicus* in all manner of Barbarities, as *Andronicus* out-did the reſt of Mankind. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Manuel*'s own Brother, fled into *Sicily*, where he perſuaded *William*, the King of that Iſland, to declare War againſt *Andronicus*. The King landing at *Dyrrachium* took the City, and march'd from thence without

without meeting any to oppoſe him, through the Heart of *Macedonia*, having order'd his Fleet to attend him at *Theſſalonica*, whither he led his Army, and won the City, rather through the Cowardiſe of the Governor, than the Courage of his own Troops. The Outrages the *Sicilians* committed in that Place were unſpeakable, they not only thruſt the Inhabitants out of their Habitations, and depriv'd 'em of their moſt valuable Subſtance, but ſtript 'em naked, expoſing thoſe Parts to publick View which by Nature were deſign'd to be conceal'd; and ſuffer'd 'em to ſtarve in the Streets, whilſt they revell'd in their Houſes, devouring that in a Moment, which the parſimonious Induſtry of many Years had been purchaſing: After which they ſpoil'd all the Country round about, and threaten'd the Imperial City it ſelf. In this Extremity *Andronicus* ſent out ſome in whom he could moſt confide againſt the *Sicilians*, who eaſily defeated the cowardly *Grecians*, and grew more formidable from ſo ineffectual an Oppoſition. This very much weaken'd the Authority of *Andronicus* at home, where the Number of the Malecontents encreas'd proportionable to the Succeſs his Enemies met with abroad, and threw him upon more deſperate Courſes, if poſſible, than any he had recurr'd to before: For now he proſcribed whole Families at once; and ſometimes his own Favourites, who had hitherto been the Executioners of his Tyranny, were carry'd off in the general Deſtruction. Among others appointed to the Slaughter was *Iſaac Angelus*, a Man of great Nobility, who was obnoxious upon no other Account but for the two firſt Letters of his Name, with which the jealous Tyrant was told his began who was to ſucceed him. *Hagiochriſtophorites*, *Andronicus*'s chief Miniſter, went with a ſufficient Force to apprehend him, but *Iſaac* defending himſelf with much Valour ſlew the Villain with his own Hands, and eſcaped through the midſt of the reſt, with his Sword bloody, into the great Church, where he took Sanctuary. Hither he

The Sicilians *Cruelties at* Theſſalonica.

he was follow'd not only by his Uncle *John Ducas* and his Son *Isaac*, who had been Sureties to the diſtruſtful Tyrant for his good Behaviour, as he had been for theirs, but by Multitudes of People, who flock'd thither out of all parts of the City, and ſilently pity'd *Iſaac*, whom they highly eſteem'd, for his high Birth, without any Thoughts as yet of farther Favours towards him. Some there were, who reſorted thither, not ſo much to behold *Iſaac*, as for their own Security, apprehending the like Uſage from the implacable *Andronicus*; theſe exclaim'd with great Freedom againſt the Tyrant, and in artful pathetical Speeches appeal'd to the People, *whom they adjured to ſtay, and protect 'em from the Fury of a Monſter, that was become the general Enemy of Mankind.*

Iſaac Angelus *taking Sanctuary, is declar'd Emperor.*

The Hand of Divine Providence appear'd eminently viſible upon this Occaſion; for *Andronicus* happen'd to be abſent at that time from the City, and his bloody Miniſters were too ſecure to apprehend any thing from the neglected Mob; who being thus careſs'd by the Malecontents, and perceiving no one offer'd any thing in Behalf of the Tyrant, or Diſlike of the Tumult, they proceeded from pitying *Iſaac* to curſe *Andronicus*, every Man giving his Tongue a Liberty, which 'till then it durſt never have exerted. A great part of the People continu'd with *Iſaac* all Night, the reſt retiring not ſo much for their Repoſe, as to prepare their Fellow-Citizens, and create a general Diſlike in the Inhabitants to *Andronicus*.

Early in the Morning *Andronicus*'s Favourites endeavour'd to appeaſe the People, who were ſo far from liſtning to them, or *Andronicus* himſelf, who arriv'd ſhortly after, that at a Signal given, as Men inſpir'd with one Spirit, they flock'd together into the Temple of St. *Sophia*; where having revil'd thoſe who appear'd without Weapons in their Hands and declar'd not with them, they broke open all the Priſons, and releas'd the Priſoners; whereof ſome, who were not of the Dregs of the People, but had been committed by

by *Andronicus* for some trivial Offence, or ill-grounded Suspicion, so effectually animated the Multitude against him, that they declar'd him a publick Enemy to the State, and saluted *Isaac* Emperor.

ISAACIUS ANGELUS. A. D. 1184.

Isaac being thus advanc'd to the Throne by this enrag'd promiscuous Assembly, refus'd at first the Crown, which having been worn by *Constantine* the Great, hung for a Monument over the Altar, and was now taken down by the Sexton, and presented to *Isaac*; whose Aversion to it proceeded not from his Want of Ambition, but his Fear of the Dangers that attended it from the Power of *Andronicus*: Which when his Uncle *Ducas* observ'd, he desir'd the People, since his Nephew declin'd it, that they would bestow it on him; but they in a tumultuary manner reply'd, *they would no more yield Obedience to an Old Bald Pate, having already suffer'd too much from the hoary Hairs of* Andronicus; whereupon *Isaac* at length suffer'd himself to be Crown'd, after which he was conducted by the Rabble to the Palace.

In the mean time *Andronicus*, who saw how far the Fury of the Multitude was like to carry 'em, endeavour'd to appease 'em by an Offer of a Resignation to his Son *Manuel*; with which when he observ'd 'em to be more enrag'd than before, he divested himself of the Imperial Purple, and escap'd with his Wife *Ann* to *Meludium*, a Royal Palace on the East-side of *Propontis*, resigning all to *Isaac*, who, by a wonderful Change of Fortune, was advanc'd from the Jaws of Death to the highest of Worldly Honours. Being again saluted Emperor in the Palace, with the repeated Acclamations of the People, he sent out some in whom he had the greatest Confidence to seize on *Andronicus*, who had embark'd himself on board a Ship with a Design to fly into *Tauro-Scythia*, but was several times forc'd back by foul Weather, the Sea, as it were, abhorring so monstrous a Burden. Being thus repuls'd by the Weather, and pursu'd by Divine Vengeance, he was at length apprehended by those who

Andronicus flies,

and is apprehended,

who were ſent out in queſt after him, who clapp'd him in Irons, and preſented him to *Iſaac*, as he was buſied in compoſing the Minds of the People, and reforming the diſorder'd City. The Indignities he ſuffer'd from the incens'd Multitude were anſwerable to the Injuries with which he had provok'd 'em; ſome of 'em revil'd him and ſpit in his Face, others pluck'd him by the Noſe, and tore off his Beard, whilſt the Women, whoſe Husbands had been either blinded or murder'd by him, were more outrageous in their Reſentments. Having his Right Hand cut off, he was committed to Priſon, where after he had lain a few Days without either Meat, Drink, or other Comfort, he was ſet on a ſcabbed Camel, having one of his Eyes pluck'd out, and with his Face towards the Tail, was led as it were in Triumph through the *Forum*, his bald Head being all the while bare, and was ſuch a miſerable Spectacle as might have drawn Tears from Cruelty it ſelf; but the relentleſs and incens'd Mob, forgetting the high Character he had lately born, thruſt ſome their Nails into his Head, others threw Filth in his Face, ſome prick'd him in the Sides with Spits, others caſt Stones at him, and all loaded him with their Reproaches and opprobrious Language, no leſs bitter to him than the reſt, all ſtriving among themſelves who ſhould do him the greateſt Villany. In this ſhameful Manner they conducted him to the Theatre, and hang'd him up by the Heels, between two Pillars, where they ſtripp'd him of all his Cloaths, cut off his Privities, and tormented him with Hooks and Harping-Irons for three Days together. All this he ſupported with an invincible Courage, ſometimes crying out, *Lord have Mercy upon me*; at others, *Why do you break a bruiſed Reed?* At length one, more merciful than the reſt, thruſt his Sword in at his Throat up to the Twiſt as he hung, and ſo diſpatch'd him. This was the miſerable End of this infamous Emperor, after he had tyranniz'd two Years, and done as much Miſchief as any

and after grievous Torments is murder'd.

of

of his Predeceſſors in ſo ſhort a Space. He was a Prince of a venerable Aſpect, well built, and of a youthful Countenance even in his old Age; for having from the Beginning led an active abſtemious Life, he had enjoy'd an uninterrupted Series of Health; he never took any Phyſick 'till after his Advancement to the Throne, and then but once by way of Prevention, and that upon the earneſt Sollicitations of his Phyſicians. He is ſaid once in the *Circenſian* Games to have pointed to the two Pillars between which he was hung, and have told *Manuel*, that *he foreſaw a certain* Roman *Emperor would one Day, after having ſuffer'd the greateſt Indignities, be hung up there by his Rebellious Subjects*; to which *Manuel* reply'd, that *the Propheſie, if it was one, did not in the leaſt relate to him*, as it too manifeſtly appear'd afterwards. Had not *Andronicus*, ſaith the *Greek* Annaliſt, too much abandon'd himſelf to Ambition and Cruelty, and polluted the Purple with an Effuſion of Blood, he might have been eſteem'd one of the beſt of the *Comnenian* Race; for he was not quite diveſted of Humanity, but like the Centaur had a Human Countenance, tho' the Parts below were of the Brute. He was magnificent, and charitable; he delighted much in publick Buildings, and, had he liv'd longer, would have added much to the Beauty of the City. That which the ſame Author relates concerning the Image of St. *Paul*, which is ſaid to have wept before his Death, becauſe he always expreſs'd a profound Reſpect for the Writings of that Apoſtle, ſavours more of the Monkiſh Bigottry, than the Sincerity of an Hiſtorian.

Nicet. p. 227. *His Character.*

Iſaacius Angelus, being thus advanc'd to the Imperial Throne, at firſt behav'd himſelf with much Lenity and Moderation; he recall'd all ſuch as had been baniſh'd by *Andronicus*, and reſtor'd 'em to their Eſtates, and reliev'd ſuch as were in Want out of the publick Treaſury. This gain'd him the good Will of all his Subjects, who looking on this happy Change, as on a fruitful Spring after the Severities of a tedious

Winter,

Winter, flock'd from all Parts to *Conſtantinople*, there to behold a ſecond *Moſes* or *Zorobabel*, and to liſt themſelves in the Service againſt the *Sicilians*, who during the Diſtractions of the late Times had propos'd nothing leſs than the Subjection of the Imperial City it ſelf. *John*, *Andronicus*'s eldeſt Son, was at that time abſent in the Provinces, where when the News of the late Revolution was arriv'd, the Soldiers ſeiz'd on the unfortunate Prince, and pluck'd out his Eyes, of which Cruelty he dy'd ſhortly after. *Manuel*, his Brother, was in like manner blinded ſhortly after, tho' he had been in no manner conſenting to his Father's Actions, of which no one was more ſenſible than the Emperor *Iſaac* himſelf.

Iſaac *defeats the* Sicilians.

All this while the *Sicilians*, who had not as yet heard of *Andronicus*'s Fate, rov'd up and down at their Pleaſure, deſtroying all before 'em, when *Branas*, the Imperial General, fell ſuddenly upon 'em, and totally overthrew 'em. The Defeat was follow'd by the Surrender of ſuch Cities as had fallen into the Enemy's Hands, and the Deſtruction of the whole *Sicilian* Army. Thoſe who had been diſpers'd abroad in Garriſons, or ſent out upon Parties, fell into the Hands of the Country People, who cut 'em all off. Their Fleet, conſiſting of two hundred Sail, met with no better Fortune, but in their Return home were either deſtroy'd by a Tempeſt, or ſo weaken'd by Sickneſs, that they fell into the Emperor's Hands, whoſe Cruelty to his Priſoners very much ſully'd the Honour of the Victory, which he had obtain'd both by Sea and Land; for he ſuffer'd ſome thouſands to periſh in Priſon for want of Food; and when the King of *Sicily* upbraided him for his Want of Humanity, he contemn'd the Meſſage, and ſeverely check'd thoſe who had the Tenderneſs to relieve 'em, tho' with no other Suſtenance than with Bread and Water. This Behaviour was more ſuitable to *Iſaac*'s Temper than his former Moderation and Lenity, as it afterwards appear'd, when his bloody

Seve-

Severities made him compar'd to *Andronicus* himself.

Having put an End to the *Sicilian* War, and bought a shameful Peace of the *Turks*, who had taken several Places of great Consequence from the Empire in the lesser *Asia*, and being now a Widower, he thought of marrying again, and made choice of a Foreigner, the Daughter of *Bela* King of *Hungary*, who was not yet full ten Years of Age. The Nuptials were celebrated by the parsimonious Emperor, who was willing to spare his own Purse, at the Expence of the Provincial Cities, which very much disoblig'd the Inhabitants, and forc'd those of Mount *Hemus* into a Rebellion, and consequently drew a great Charge upon the State.

All this while *Isaac Comnenus* tyranniz'd in *Cyprus*, nor was he to be reduc'd either by large Promises of mighty Rewards made to him by the Emperor, nor the Terror of the Forces he saw *Isaac* arming against him, but exercis'd the most barbarous Cruelties over the Inhabitants. The Emperor mann'd out a Fleet consisting of seventy Sail, and chose *John Contostephanus* and *Alexius Comnenus* for his Admirals: the first of which being old and infirm, and the other, who was the Emperor's near Kinsman, having lost his Eyes by *Andronicus*'s Order, tho' otherwise a Man of Courage, and of an Age fit for Action, they who wish'd well to the State entertain'd melancholy Apprehensions of their Success. The Fleet setting Sail was first horribly shaken by a Tempest, and at length, through the Indiscretion of the Commanders, lost entirely to the Enemy; for *Margarites*, a notorious Pirate, watching his Opportunity when all the Forces were order'd a-shore to fight the Enemy, who seem'd ready to give 'em Battel, seiz'd the Ships thus weaken'd and disarm'd, whilst the Tyrant fell on the Soldiers that were landed, from whom all Possibility of a Retreat was cut off, and obtain'd an easie Conquest over 'em. *His Forces defeated by the* Cypriots.

This Misfortune encourag'd others who were not well affected to the Empire to declare themselves a-

The Myſian *War.*

gainſt it, eſpecially the *Myſians*, who having been oppreſs'd by the Emperor's unjuſt Exactions, flew out into an open Rebellion; and when they had receiv'd a ſmall Defeat from the Imperialiſts, they drew the *Scythians* into the Quarrel, and having rais'd a formidable Army conſiſting of both Nations, they renew'd their Hoſtilities, and exceedingly harraſs'd the Borders of the Empire. *Iſaac*, who was himſelf naturally ſloathful and unactive, ſent out *John* his Uncle againſt 'em; and *John* behav'd himſelf with ſo much Prudence and Conduct, that had he not been recall'd by the unworthy Emperor, who was grown jealous of thoſe that were more deſerving than himſelf, he had in all Probability made an End of the War. *John* was ſucceeded by another *John*, ſurnam'd *Cataczenus*, who having marry'd the Emperor's Siſter, had been declar'd *Ceſar*. He was a Man of great Courage and Reſolution, but raſh and inconſiderate, and by his ill Conduct gave the Enemy frequent Advantages over him; whereupon he was recall'd, and *Branas Alexius* appointed to ſucceed him. *Branas* was one of the greateſt Captains of his Age, but Proud and Ambitious; he had ſerv'd as General before in the *Sicilian* War, but at his Return aſpir'd at the Imperial Dignity, for which notwithſtanding he was pardon'd upon his Submiſſion, and was now again declar'd General againſt the *Myſians*. His Succeſs in this War reviv'd in him his former Pretenſions: For having obtain'd ſome Advantages over the Enemy, he return'd on a ſudden with his moſt intimate Friends and neareſt Relations to *Adrianople*, the Place of his Nativity, where he was declar'd Emperor, and march'd inſtantly towards the Imperial City, preſuming upon the Negligence and Weakneſs of the ſluggiſh Emperor, and the Valour and Experience of the *Latins*, who had eſpous'd his Intereſt. Being advanc'd with his Army near the City, he attempted ſeveral Ways to get it into his Hands, but found it as difficult to get an Entrance into it, as 'twas for the

Branas *uſurps.*

Empe-

Emperor to drive him from before it. The Besieg'd sally'd out frequently upon their Enemies, who always drove 'em back not without a considerable Loss on their side; so that the Usurper finding it impossible to obtain his Ends by Force, thought it advisable to try what he could oblige 'em to by Famine, for all the neighbouring Provinces, both on the *Asiatick* and *European* Side, having declar'd for him, he was able to cut off all Supplies of Provisions.

In the mean time the Emperor had recourse to nothing but his Devotions, 'till he was rous'd by *Conrade*, the Marquess of *Montferrat*, who having been a Pensioner to *Manuel*, the late Emperor, and done him signal Services in *Italy*, was now in great Esteem at *Constantinople*. This Man awaken'd the Emperor out of his Religious Lethargy, and summon'd him to the Discharge of his Imperial Function. He collected all his Forces into one Body, and march'd out at the Head of 'em, and presented *Branas* with Battel. The Dispute lasted on both Sides with great Obstinacy for a considerable time, 'till in the end the Emperor's Forces prevail'd, and *Branas* and most of his Accomplices were either slain or taken Prisoners. The Use the Emperor made of this Victory show'd him unworthy of it, for he suffer'd his Soldiers to plunder and destroy the Possessions of all such as had revolted to the Usurper, so that all the Buildings in the Suburbs, and upon the *Propontis*, were in a Moment devour'd by the Flames; and there was no Villany which the licentious Soldiers did not commit upon that Occasion with the greatest Impunity.

This Insurrection being so happily quell'd, the Emperor look'd with a jealous Eye upon the mighty Preparations which the renown'd *Frederick Barbarossa*, Emperor of *Germany*, was making in the West, design'd by him for the Holy-Land, but suspected by the unworthy Prince as directed chiefly against him. *Saladin*, the *Turkish* Sultan, who had great Reason

Isaac's Behaviour to the German Emperor.

to be terrify'd at the Storm which ſo apparently threaten'd him, had ſo artfully prepar'd *Iſaac*, by the Surrender of ſome Fugitive Traitors, and a Promiſe of reſtoring *Paleſtine* to him, upon Condition that he would obſtruct the Paſſage of the Weſtern Chriſtians, that he equall'd moſt of his Predeceſſors in his Perfidiouſneſs towards 'em. Tho' he had promis'd to grant *Frederick* free Paſſage through his Territories, and to afford him all manner of Refreſhments and Accommodations for his Army, yet he no ſooner heard of his Arrival upon the Borders, but he ſent his Couſin *Manuel*, the Great Maſter of his Horſe, at the Head of a powerful Army to diſpute the Paſſes with the *Germans*, and to intercept their Proviſions; having ſome time before thrown the Biſhop of *Munſter*, the Earl of *Naſſau*, and Count *Walram*, *Frederick*'s Ambaſſadors, into Priſon, without any Regard had to the Law of Nations, and the high Dignity of their Maſter. The *German* Van-guard, provok'd at *Iſaac*'s Perfidiouſneſs, eaſily forc'd their Way through thoſe who were ſent to oppoſe 'em, and paſſing the Mountains which lead into *Thrace*, the whole Army fell into that Country, where they were ſuffer'd to live at Diſcretion, and to ſeize on the Grain, which they found in great Abundance of all Kinds in the Fields, before the *Greeks* had time to remove it into the fortify'd Towns, according to the Orders they had receiv'd from the Emperor.

Tho' the *Germans* were by this time got into the Heart of *Thrace*, and the *Greeks* had neither Power nor Courage ſufficient to reſtrain 'em, yet did *Iſaac* with an inſupportable Vanity ſend to *Frederick*, to whom he deny'd the Title of Emperor, giving him to underſtand that *he knew of but one Emperor which was himſelf, and that if he would in that Quality acknowledge him as his Lord and Maſter, and give him ſo many Hoſtages as he demanded for his Security, that he would attempt nothing contrary*

trary to his Service or Interest, but give him a Moiety of whatever he should obtain by Conquest from the Saracens, *then, and upon no other Terms, he was resolv'd to allow him the Liberty of Passage which he desir'd.*

Whether this was really what *Isaac* had in so insolent a manner demanded, or the Ambassadors had unadvisedly exceeded their Commission, as *Nicetas* our Historian assures us they did, *Frederick* thought fit to conceal his Resentment 'till he had obtain'd the Release of his Ambassadors, and answer'd with a disdainful Smile, that *he trusted too much in the Merits of his Cause, and the Courage of those brave Men who attended him, to comply with such dishonourable Conditions*; that *however, when* Isaac *had restor'd him his Ambassadors, whom with so much Inhumanity, and Scandal to the Christian Religion, he held in Chains, he should then think himself oblig'd to make him such Acknowledgments, as consisted with the Honour of God, and of the Empire.* After which he advanc'd, without waiting for an Answer, and seizing upon all the Places in his Passage without any Resistance, he encamp'd on the twenty fifth of *August* within View of *Philippopolis*, which was shortly after quitted by the Inhabitants, who left their Habitations, with a prodigious Plenty of Provisions to *Frederick*'s Soldiers. Nicet. p. 237.

This Advantage of the *Germans* highly incens'd *Isaac* against *Manuel*, his General, whom he accus'd of Cowardice, and sent him express Orders to fight with the Enemy; accordingly he advanc'd within six Miles of *Philippopolis*, but was so little acquainted with warlike Affairs, that a Party of *Germans* being abroad to scour the Country, and discover the Posture of the Enemy, presum'd to assault his whole Army, and did it with so much Courage and Success, that the degenerate *Greeks* turn'd their Backs, and left a handful of *Germans* Masters of the Field; who after this found none who had Resolution enough to op-

poſe 'em, but ſeiz'd on *Nicopolis*, *Adrianople*, and all the Cities between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* Sea, and enlarg'd their Conqueſts on both Sides to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*.

Iſaac being by this time ſufficiently puniſh'd for his Perfidy, which had brought him to the laſt Extremities, ſet *Frederick*'s Ambaſſadors at Liberty, and in a ſuppliant manner ſu'd for a Peace, offering to ſupply him with whatever Ships were neceſſary to tranſport him into *Aſia*; deſiring at the ſame time that his Paſſage might be as quick as poſſible, and that he might have Hoſtages deliver'd him for his Security. But *Frederick*, who thought it became him to chaſtiſe the Pride of this feeble but preſumptuous Prince, let him know that he look'd on himſelf to be the Rightful Emperor of the *Romans*, and as ſuch anſwer'd the Ambaſſadors, that *it was the Right of the Conquerors to preſcribe Laws to the Vanquiſh'd, and that it belong'd to him, who had conquer'd* Thrace, *to diſpoſe of it at his Pleaſure*; that *therefore he was reſolv'd to winter there with his whole Army, ſince he by his Perfidiouſneſs had retarded his Voyage 'till it was too late in the Year now to attempt it. He order'd him at his Peril to provide him with a ſufficient Number of Ships againſt Eaſter, and ſince he had no reaſon to repoſe any Confidence in his Promiſes, he commanded him to ſend him four and twenty of the principal Officers and Lords of his Court, and eight hundred Perſons of Inferior Quality, as Hoſtages for his good Behaviour; which when he had done, he was ready to give him the Aſſurance of his Oath, that he had no Deſigns upon his Empire, as he had perſuaded himſelf vainly to imagine, thereby to gain a tolerable Pretence for his perfidious Dealings, and the Violation of his Faith.*

Iſaac is *forced to ſubmit to the* Germans.

Iſaac, who had before born it with ſo high a Hand, ſufficiently diſcover'd the Meanneſs of his Soul in this Conjuncture; for he with great readineſs accepted of theſe Diſhonourable Conditions, and without Delay

ſent

sent the Ratification, with the Hostages, and great Presents to the Emperor; who winter'd at *Adrianople*, till the Spring approach'd, and then he remov'd to *Callipolis*, in order to pass the *Hellespont*, and upon his Arrival found a greater Number of Ships than he had been promis'd by *Isaac*, who was glad at any Expence to remove those dangerous, troublesome, and expensive Guests.

Isaac, being thus deliver'd from the *Germans*, busied himself in the Settlement of his Family; his eldest Daughter was made a Nun, and his youngest marry'd to *Tancred*, the King of *Sicily*'s Son, and his Son *Alexius* (of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter) was design'd for his Successor, tho' he still promis'd himself a Reign of thirty two Years, notwithstanding that he was hourly alarm'd by daily Conspiracies, and frequent Usurpations.

Frequent Usurpations.

Among the many Pretenders that claim'd a Right to the Imperial Crown, none prov'd at first more dangerous than one, who pretending himself to be *Alexius*, the Son of *Manuel*, depos'd by *Andronicus*, but not murder'd, as it was falsly reported, plaid his Part with so much Address in the Sultan of *Iconium*'s Court, that, by Leave from the Sultan, he in a short time rais'd an Army consisting of eight thousand Men accustom'd to Depredations, with which he seiz'd most of the Cities seated on the *Meander*. The Disaffection of the People in general to *Isaac* made this Usurpation more dangerous, for tho' there were very few but mistrusted what the Impostor had so confidently affirm'd, yet all wishing it had been so, they all seem'd to believe it. By this means he gain'd Ground daily, and having defeated several of the Emperor's Generals, he was thought so considerable at length, that no less a Man than the Emperor's own Brother *Alexius* was judg'd the most fit to oppose him; and *Alexius*, tho' a Man forward and courageous, durst not venture a Battel with him, but thought he should do a considerable piece of Ser-

vice if he could preserve those Towns firm in their Obedience, which had not yet revolted to him. Thus, in all probability, the War might have been prolong'd, to the apparent hazard of the Emperor's Dignity, and weakning of the Empire, had not God thought fit to remove the Usurper by the Hands of a Priest, who cut off his Head as he lay fast asleep, after he had taken a larger Draught of Wine than usual.

The Fate of this Usurper did not deter others from the like Attempts; the Contempt they had entertain'd of the present Emperor made 'em bold and aspiring, and tho' none of 'em obtain'd the Crown they aim'd at, they made it sit uneasie on his Head that wore it. At the same time the *Scythians*, encourag'd by these Domestick Commotions, renew'd their Incursions, and harass'd the Borders of the Empire. Against these *Isaac* thought fit to undertake an Expedition in Person, but prepar'd to return before he had effected any thing considerable, and lost the greatest part of his Army in his Retreat, he himself escaping with much Difficulty. This Disaster encourag'd the *Barbarians*, so that they ransack'd the *Roman* Towns at their Pleasure, destroying the Inhabitants, or leading 'em into Captivity.

The Scythians *prevail against the Emperor.*

In the mean time *Isaac* abandon'd all the Care and Trouble of the Empire, first to an old doting Eunuch, call'd *Theodorus Castamonita*; and after that to some young fantastical Boy, scarcely pass'd the Discipline of a School, who notwithstanding govern'd both the Emperor and Empire at Pleasure, whilst *Isaac* delighted in nothing but the luxurious Enjoyment of his Riches, expensive Buildings, and ridiculous Amusements; for the Support of which he had Recourse to all manner of exorbitant Exactions, and abstain'd not from Sacrilege it-self: 'Till he was once more rouz'd by the prevailing Arms of the *Scythians*, who in a late Engagement near *Adrianople*, had defeated both *Alexius Guido*, General of the Eastern, and *Batatzes Basilius*, Commander of the Western Forces, the first of which

Isaac neglects the Affairs of State.

which with great Difficulty escap'd, and the other, having lost all his Men, was kill'd upon the Spot. For this Reason *Isaac* order'd new Levies to be made, and having hir'd considerable Forces from abroad, march'd at the Head of his Army against the *Barbarians*, resolving never to return 'till he had severely chastis'd 'em for these Indignities offer'd the Empire; which however was not so much in Danger from the open Attempts of Foreign declar'd Enemies, as he was expos'd to the secret Machinations of Domestick Traitors.

Alexius Angelus, the Emperor's Brother, had in a particular manner been caress'd and indulg'd by him from the time of his Advancement; and tho' he had receiv'd frequent Intimations, especially towards the latter end of his Reign, of *Alexius* his treacherous Designs, and the Danger he was to apprehend from him, yet he severely reprov'd his friendly Admonishers, as Men desirous to create Dissentions in his Family, and sow Divisions in the State, and at the same time repos'd a greater Confidence in *Alexius* than ever; so fatally blind are those Men to their own Safety, whom God in his infinite Wisdom has determin'd to destroy.

Being arriv'd at *Cypsella*, a Town near the Frontiers, he there halted, till the rest of his Army could join him. A. D. 1194. He was now grown into a general Dislike of the Nobility, some justly abominating him for his many Cruelties, others for his Negligence in the publick Administration, and not a few uniting in a Conspiracy against him from the desire of a Change, and a Prospect of the Advantages they promis'd themselves from it; so that *Alexius* found enow among 'em ready to espouse his Interest, and combine against *Isaac*. Having concerted all things in such a manner as they judg'd safe and convenient, the Conspirators propos'd to put their Design in Execution at this Place. One Day when the Emperor invited his Brother out a Hunting, *Alexius* pretended an Indisposition, and desir'd to be

be excus'd, and the unhappy *Iſaac*, who miſtruſted nothing of what follow'd, prepar'd for the Chace without him; where whilſt he was diverting himſelf, the Conſpirators, many of whom were nearly ally'd to the Emperor, forc'd *Alexius*, as it had been agreed among 'em before, to the Imperial Pavillion, and with reiterated Acclamations declar'd him Emperor; in which they were follow'd by the whole Army, and even by *Iſaac*'s own Servants and chief Favourites, who join'd with the Croud, wiſhing *Alexius* a long and auſpicious Reign. *Iſaac* at the firſt Alarm turn'd his Horſe, and thought by his Preſence to divert that Storm, which, having been ſo long gathering, ſtood now ready to deſtroy him; which when he too late obſerv'd, he committed himſelf to the Divine Protection, and fled with great Precipitation to *Macra*, where he was overtaken by thoſe his Brother had employ'd to apprehend him; who by vertue of the ſame Order pluck'd out his Eyes, and threw him into Priſon, where he liv'd as it were out of the World, condemn'd to perpetual Darkneſs by an inhuman ungrateful Brother, whom in his Proſperity he had redeem'd for a great Sum of Money from the *Turks*, for which he was thus unworthily rewarded in the tenth Year of his Reign, and fortieth of his Age, *A. D.* 1194.

and is depos'd by his Brother ALEXIUS ANGELUS.

Iſaac's Character.

If we conſider rightly the Character of *Iſaac Angelus*, the late Emperor, we ſhall have no great Reaſon to wonder at the ready Concurrence of the Army, the Senate, and Clergy, in his Deſtruction. He was a Man who had little either of Courage or generous Reſolution, the want of which was abundantly ſupply'd with Vanity and Preſumption, which made thoſe Vices more expos'd, by which Princes render themſelves hated, and become deſpicable to their Subjects; for he was ſottiſh even to downright Folly, inconſtant, cowardly, effeminate, voluptuous, fooliſhly prodigal, and moſt infamouſly covetous, making no Difficulty to take any thing that pleas'd his Fancy, robbing even Churches of their Jewels, Plate, and conſecrated

ſecrated Veſſels, which he us'd without any Scruple at his publick Entertainments. He had no Senſe of Honour, nor Regard to his Word, any further than conſiſted with his own Humour or Intereſt. This made him unhappy in his Government, and unpity'd in his Fall, which introduc'd ſuch a Revolution as *Conſtantinople* had not known before, and which was ſhortly after follow'd by the Diſſolution of the Empire.

Alexius being thus with the general Conſent of the People acknowledg'd Emperor, ſent to acquaint his Wife and Relations, whom he had left behind in the City, with his Advancement: At the ſame time he endeavour'd to reward thoſe who had appear'd moſt forward in his Promotion, and by ſeveral popular Acts labour'd to confirm the People in their Obedience to that Government, to which they had ſo voluntarily ſubmitted. His publick Reception into the City was attended with many Omens, which ſeem'd to declare the Divine Diſpleaſure, and to denounce the Calamities which afterwards befel the Empire. As he was going to mount an *Arabian* Horſe, which belong'd formerly to his Brother, and was now adorn'd with the Imperial Trappings, as the Solemnity requir'd, the Beaſt diſdaining the Burden rear'd himſelf on his hind Feet, and gave the aſtoniſh'd Beholders evident Signs of his Indignation. When the Aſſiſtants had with much Addreſs mollify'd him, and the new Emperor was mounted, the angry Steed grew more enrag'd than before, as if he had been ignorantly betray'd into that Compliance, and would never be pacify'd 'till he had thrown the unworthy Rider upon the Ground. This, and other Accidents, gave ſome of the moſt Curious an Occaſion of reflecting upon the late Tranſactions, and preſented 'em with a melancholy Proſpect of what was to come. Nicet. p. 294.

Notwithſtanding this the unworthy Emperor polluted the Throne with the ſame Vices, for which he pretended to have remov'd his Brother. Inſtead of chaſtizing the *Myſians*, who continu'd their Depreda-

tions,

tions, or arming against the *Turks*, who since the Death of the Emperor *Manuel* had taken several strong Towns in the lesser *Asia*, and great part of *Phrygia* from the Empire, he abandon'd himself to Riot and Luxury, and the Gratification of his sensual Appetites, squandring away with both Hands his Predecessors Treasure, never considering how much he should want it hereafter, and how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to recover it. And as if one Tyrant was not sufficient to afflict a dejected State, he was marry'd to another who equal'd him in all his Extravagances, and in many exceeded him: Her Name was *Euphrosyne*, a Woman of a voluble Tongue and ready Mind, but withal ambitious, immodest, and prodigally luxurious, who imitating her Husband in all his Arbitrary Proceedings, acted with an uncontroul'd Authority, and presum'd sometimes to contradict and rescind what the Emperor himself had ordain'd.

Alexius is as bad as his Brother.

These dissolute Proceedings in the Court gave Encouragement to several Impostors, with which those Times were pregnant, which being countenanc'd and supported secretly by the *Turks*, brought great Calamities upon the Empire; at the same time that the restless implacable *Mysians* continu'd their Hostilities, and destroy'd whole Legions at once, growing arrogant from their frequent Advantages, and entertaining a thorough Contempt of the *Roman* Emperor: Notwithstanding which he had once an Opportunity offer'd him of reducing the whole Country, whilst the *Mysians* were at Variance among themselves, which he either totally neglected, or manag'd with so much Indiscretion, as gave the World reason to think he had no Sense of the Trust repos'd in him, but that he govern'd for his own Sake, and not for the Safety and Honour of the Empire, whose Fate was unavoidable, and its Destruction nigh at hand.

His Aversion to publick Affairs fatal to the Empire.

This proceeded in a great measure from the Aversion *Alexius* had to publick Affairs, and the great Confidence he put in his Favourites, who govern'd all with

with a mercenary Hand, and made the higheſt Employments of the Empire venal; ſo little regarding the Birth or Abilities of thoſe they preferr'd, that even *Syrians* and *Scythians* enjoy'd Poſts of the greateſt Honour and Profit: So that the *Barbarians* prevail'd on every Side, the Emperor being unable to reſiſt 'em when aſſaulted, or manage thoſe Diviſions which often happen'd between 'em to his Advantage.

Thus for ſeven Years together did the State ſuffer under this unhappy Prince's Adminiſtration, 'till the Divine Vengeance at length overtook him, and ſtripp'd him of thoſe Honours he had ſo long uſurp'd, and of which he was ſo highly undeſerving. Tho' at firſt he had us'd his Brother *Iſaac* with the greateſt Barbarity, and having pluck'd out his Eyes caus'd him to be lock'd up in Irons with his young Son *Alexius*, a Prince of about twelve Years of Age; yet by degrees growing fatally ſecure, he began to pity thoſe he had ſtripp'd of the Imperial Ornaments, and ſuffering his Brother to live in an handſome Palace without the City, he receiv'd the young *Alexius* into the Court, where he attended upon his Perſon, and ſhar'd with him in all his Diverſions. A. D. 1202.

However the two injur'd Princes either thought themſelves too highly affronted ever to forgive the Offender, or perceiving how odious the Uſurper render'd himſelf every Day to the People, and into what Calamities he plung'd the State, began to reflect on the Dignity they had loſt, and to conſider how they might recover their former Honours. *Iſaac*, having the Liberty to admit all ſuch as came to viſit him, treated ſo ſecretly with the *Latins*, that by their means he found a way of correſponding with his Daughter *Irene*, at that time the Wife of *Philip* the *German* Emperor, who promis'd to diſpoſe the Spirit of her Husband, to undertake the Protection of the two unfortunate Princes. Whilſt this was in Agitation, the young *Alexius*, who was at Liberty

berty to go where he pleas'd, withdrew secretly, and got aboard a Ship belonging to a Merchant of *Pisa*, who undertook to carry him off. The thing was manag'd with so much Cunning, that when the Guards the Tyrant upon the News of his Escape had sent to search all the Vessels, came on Board the *Pisan*, riding then at the Mouth of the *Hellespont* ready to sail, and search'd her with more Exactness than all the rest, the Prince disguis'd like an *Italian* Sailor boldly receiv'd 'em upon the Deck, and undertook himself to be their Conductor, leading 'em into the most secret Places of the Ship, and thus by not being hid escap'd the Danger of being found; so that the Ship being thereupon discharg'd, the Prince landed safe in *Sicily*; where having for some time conferr'd with his Sister, he proceeded from thence to *Rome*, to sollicit the Assistance of Pope *Innocent*; and from thence he pass'd with his Retinue by Land into *Germany*. *Philip*, who had an entire Affection for *Irene* the Empress, *Alexius* his Sister, was sensibly touch'd with the Misfortunes of his Family, but being at that time oblig'd to dispute the Empire with *Otho* his Competitor, he had too great Affairs upon his Hands already to attempt the Restitution of the Prince himself, and therefore advis'd him to engage the *French* and *Venetians* to assist him, who had then a great Army on foot in *Dalmatia* for the Conquest of the Holy Land, and to whom it behov'd him to make such advantageous Offers, as would encourage 'em to comply both out of Interest, Honour, and the publick Good of Christendom. To this the Prince readily consented, and agreed to such Terms, upon Condition they would restore him, as had he then rightly consider'd he would have found difficult, if not impossible to perform. Having in this manner concerted his Matters with *Philip*, he apply'd himself to the Princes by his Ambassadors, who had Orders to omit nothing that might oblige the Republick and the *French* to conclude the Treaty: Being admitted

A. D. 1202.

Alexius, the Son of Isaac, engages the Latins to restore him.

to

to Audience, they told 'em, *They were not come to retard their glorious Enterprize for the Conquest of the Holy-Land, but to present 'em with a Way safe, easie, and absolutely necessary for the Accomplishment of it. That whereas they at first design'd to carry their Arms into Egypt, and by that Way to enter into* Palestine, *they requested they would rather employ those Arms in the Recovery of* Constantinople *to the lawful Heir, by which Means they would render themselves Masters of it; the Omission of which had heretofore caus'd the Loss of two such flourishing Armies, as might otherwise have easily triumph'd over all the East, that great City being the very Key of* Europe *and* Asia. They represented to 'em, *the little Trust was to be repos'd in the Usurper, who had barbarously affronted both the Emperor and the King of* France; they assur'd 'em *of his Cowardice and Inactivity, and how readily his Subjects would renounce their Allegiance to him, when once they beheld the young Prince, whom they ador'd, at the Head of so flourishing an Army.* They concluded *by engaging for the Prince, that as soon as they had establish'd him upon the Imperial Throne of* Constantinople, *he should pay 'em two hundred thousand Marks in Silver towards the Expences of the War, maintain ten thousand Men a whole Year at his own Charges to assist 'em in the Conquest of* Egypt, *and to pay, during his Life, five hundred Knights well arm'd for the Preservation of the Conquests which they should make in the Holy-Land.*

After some Disputes among the Princes, which were manag'd a while with great Heat, the Major Part inclin'd to these Propositions, being principally induc'd to it by *Henry Dandolo*, Doge of *Venice*, who being now above fourscore Years old, tho' neither decrepid in Body nor decay'd in Mind, his great Age render'd him still more August and Venerable. He was a great Captain, valiant Soldier, and able Politician, which, besides his great Thirst of Glory, which he retain'd even in those Years, made him more sensible of the Advantages that would arise to the Crusade from the Agreement propos'd by *Alexius* his Ambassadors. Besides

Henry Dandolo, *Doge of* Venice.

ſides this, he had for a long time cheriſh'd an invincible Hatred to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors, for when about fifty Years before he was employ'd by the Republick as their Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, where he generouſly ſuſtain'd his Character, and boldly maintain'd the Intereſt of his Country, the perfidious Emperor *Manuel*, not accuſtom'd to ſuch an honeſt Freedom, caus'd a red hot Plate of Iron to be held before his Eyes, with which his Sight was not wholly loſt, tho' it mightily impair'd it; the Senſe of which barbarous Outrage, and Violation of the Law of Nations, liv'd in his Memory 'till his dying Day.

The Articles of the Treaty being ratify'd by mutual Oaths on each Side, part of the Army embark'd and ſet Sail for *Corfu*, where the whole Navy was appointed to rendezvous, whilſt the Doge and the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, who had been choſen Head of the Cruſade, and had the Honour to be ally'd to the young *Alexius*, ſtaid behind in Expectation of that Prince's Arrival, who came in a few Days after very magnificently attended. The Marquiſs and *Dandolo* having done him all the Honours imaginable, and proteſted they would ſacrifice all for his Service, the Fleet weigh'd Anchor, and for a happy beginning of the War, as they came before *Dyrrachium*, the Inhabitants being inform'd that the young Prince was on board that Fleet, they preſented him with the Keys of the Place, and ſwore an inviolable Fidelity to him. Encourag'd by this happy Preſage, they continu'd their Courſe a few Days after, and join'd the other part of the Army, which was already landed upon the Iſland of *Corfu*, where they were ſupply'd with all manner of Neceſſaries for their Refreſhment, and the young *Alexius*, at his Arrival, was met by the reſt of the Princes, and conducted in a triumphant Manner to the Camp.

Here they continu'd 'till *Whitſun-Eve*, to allay ſome Diſputes that had prevail'd in the Army; after which they

they embark'd, and having coasted all *Morea* and *Achaia*, the Fleet came to an Anchor in the *Negropont*; the next Place they anchor'd at was St. *Stephen*'s Port upon the Bank of the *Propontis*, from whence the Wind and Current carry'd 'em Eastward along by the Coasts of the City, whose Walls were crouded with the Emperor's Soldiers, and who from thence beheld one of the fairest and yet most terrible Sights in the World, three hundred Vessels in Order of Battel, with their Standards flying upon their Poops, their Ensigns display'd, and their Flags and Pendants wantoning in the Wind; in which Condition that gallant formidable Navy, bearing with full Sails before the Wind, was carry'd to the Port of *Chalcedon*, opposite to *Constantinople*, where the Army made an immediate Descent, and march'd by Land in Order of Battel along the *Bosphorus*, whilst the Fleet was conducted to *Scutari* or *Chrysopolis*, opposite likewise to the Imperial City.

The Latins Fleet before Constantinople.

In the mean time *Alexius*, the *Roman* Emperor, as the *Greek* Writers still term'd their Princes, tho' he had receiv'd timely Intimation of the great Preparations the *Latins* were forming against him, and that they had undertaken to settle the young *Alexius* in the Throne, had taken no Care for his own Defence and that of the State, but drowning himself in his sensual Pleasures, would sometimes, in the Jollity of his Entertainments and Heat of Wine, tell his debauch'd Companions, that *a Party of his Guards should go and bring that Handful of Madmen bound fast in Irons, who being weary of their Lives were come so far to receive the Honour of dying by his Commands.* Nor did he recover out of this profound Stupidity, 'till he understood that the Confederate Army, after the Reduction of *Dyrrachium*, had assur'd themselves of *Corfu*, and then indeed he was persuaded to give necessary Orders for the Defence of *Constantinople*, summoning all the Soldiers that were quarter'd in the adjacent Parts to march thither. He was able to Man out no more

Alexius his senseless Security.

than twenty Gallies to guard the Chain, which was drawn from a Tower near *Galata*, and being fasten'd to the *Acropolis* lock'd up the Entrance into the Haven; the Arsenal having been so impoverish'd by *Michael Stryphnus* his Admiral, who had marry'd his Wife's Sister, and had sold the Sails, Cordage, and Anchors, and exchang'd even the Bolts and Iron Nails of his Navy for Gold.

After he had in this manner provided for the Defence of *Constantinople*, he drew out his Army, and encamp'd upon the Banks of the *Bosphorus* opposite to the Confederates, whose Numbers were far inferior to his, who notwithstanding pass'd over the *Bosphorus* shortly after in admirable Order, and landed in sight of that great Army, who at first pretended to oppose 'em with their Arrows and Cross-bows; but when they saw the *French*, without waiting 'till their Horses were landed, march'd directly towards 'em with their Swords in their Hands, they fled so swift away, that nothing but their own Fears was able to overtake 'em.

A. D. 1203. Constantinople *Besieg'd.*

The *French*, being thus happily landed, lodg'd that Night in the *Jews* Quarter upon the *Bosphorus*, and the next Day assaulted the Castle of *Galata*, which they took after a great Slaughter, at the same time that the *Venetians*, being favour'd by an Easterly Wind, which bore their Ships up to the Chain, cut it in two with prodigious Scissors of Steel, which were open'd and shut with an Engine, by which means the whole Fleet enter'd the Port, and all the *Greek* Vessels were either taken, disabled, or sunk. After this they prepar'd to attack the Town in two Places, one by Sea, on the Port-side, which the *Venetians* undertook, and the other by Land, which was committed to the *French*. Having batter'd the Walls for ten Days together, they at length resolv'd to give a general Assault both by Sea and Land, which they did on the seventeenth of *July* by Break of Day, at which time the whole Army fell on with all the

Courage

Courage and Resolution imaginable. The *Greeks*, being assisted both by their Number, and the Advantage of the Place, defended themselves at first with great Success, 'till *Dandolo* did an Action which has eterniz'd his Memory to all Posterity, and left him the Reputation of having been one of the greatest Men in the World. For aged as he was, transported with a valiant Impatience, he posted himself on the forepart of the Admiral-Gally with his Sword drawn, and the great Standard of St. *Mark* before him, commanding his Men upon peril of their Lives, to use their utmost Skill and Force to get ashore. This Command, enforc'd with so terrible a Menace, was follow'd with such a quick Obedience, that the Gally was in an Instant brought to the Shore, and the Doge advanc'd with the Standard to the Walls; by which Example of Heroick Courage he drew all from on board the Fleet after him, for they who were in the other Gallies, fearing they should fall under the Infamy of having abandon'd their General in so noble a Danger, row'd with their utmost Force, and gain'd the Shore almost at the same time together; and ran like enrag'd Lions after their Leader to the Assault. The *French* were astonish'd when they beheld on a sudden the great Standard of St. *Mark* placed upon one of the Towers, which redoubled their Courage, and animated 'em with fresh Vigour, 'till such time as a terrible Cloud of Dust, which advanc'd towards 'em, the sound of Trumpets, the neighing of Horses, and the Noise of an infinite Number of People, oblig'd them to quit the Assault, and put themselves in a Posture of Defence.

Dandolo's Bravery.

For *Alexius* the Emperor, being compell'd by the loud Cries and Murmurs of his People and Soldiers, who openly reproach'd him with his Cowardice, and fearing lest in the Heat of their Resentments they should fall upon him and pull him to pi ces, had at last sally'd out of the City, with an intent to charge

Alexius *sallying out is repuls'd.*

the Army in the Rear, if they continu'd the Aſſault, or give 'em Battel in the open Field if they had the Courage to accept of it; not doubting but he ſhould be able to ſurround 'em and cut 'em in pieces, having above ſixty Battalions of freſh Men ſupported by all his Cavalry, to no more than ſix of theirs, already weary'd with a deſperate Aſſault. As the Princes were drawing up their Troops in the moſt commodious manner to receive him, they receiv'd with an incredible Joy a Reinforcement, which the generous *Dandolo* brought to their Aſſiſtance. *Dandolo* had by this time maſter'd twenty five Towers part of a hundred built on the Side of the Haven, and hearing now that the Emperor had made a Sally, he caus'd himſelf to be conducted immediately to the Camp, with all the Forces he could rally, to ſuſtain the Shock of the Enemy, who having promis'd themſelves that they ſhould be able to oppreſs the Confederates with Multitude, when they found now they would not be drawn from their Intrenchments, but expected 'em there with a reſolute Courage, they quickly retir'd into the Town, never daring once to turn Head againſt that Handful of Men, who had the Confidence to follow 'em for ſome time in good Order, diſcharging continually upon their Rear in the open Field, where they might have given 'em Battel.

This ſhameful Retreat was not occaſion'd more by the Cowardice than the Jealouſie of the unworthy *Alexius*, who would not ſuffer his Son-in-Law *Theodorus Laſcaris* to make one in the Sally; for had he commanded, being both a Soldier and Captain, the moſt valiant of his Nation, he would have made better uſe of that infinite Number of Hands, which remain'd wholly unprofitable that Day, by reaſon their Commander had neither Courage nor Skill enough to manage 'em to the beſt Advantage.

Alexius, being thus ſhamefully retir'd into the City, pretended, the better to ſhelter himſelf from the Reproaches

proaches of the People, that he had defer'd the Combat, by reason it was late, and that the next Morning he was resolv'd to attack the Enemies in their Camp, if they had the Courage to expect him; but being pursu'd and terrify'd by his own Conscience, instead of preparing for the Encounter, he secretly embark'd himself with a few of his Domesticks, all the Gold, Silver, and the Imperial Ornaments, and fled to *Zagora*, anciently call'd *Debeltus*, a City of *Thrace*, standing at the Foot of Mount *Hæmus*, where, by reason of his Guilt, his Cowardice, and the Contempt into which he was fallen, having Cause to fear some great Revolution in his Fortune, he had beforehand assur'd himself of a Retreat. *and flies.*

The People had no sooner discover'd the Flight of the Usurper, but detesting his infamous Cowardice, and fearing lest the *Latins* should in so favourable a Conjuncture assault the City a second time, and take it by Force, ran to the Prison, where the Tyrant, after the young *Alexius* his escape, had caus'd *Isaac* to be detain'd, and knock'd off the Manacles of the poor Prince, who had been so barbarously treated by his own Brother, and having placed him on the Imperial Throne, from which about Eight Years before he had been so violently driven, they sent Deputies to the Princes, to give them an Account of the Flight of the Usurper, and the Re-establishment of the Emperor *Isaac*, and to invite the young Prince to share the Empire with his Father. The Princes were agreeably surpriz'd at so unexpected a Revolution, but being grown from long Experience distrustful of the *Greeks*, they the next Morning, at the Head of their Army, which they had drawn up in Battalia, acquainted the young *Alexius*, that they expected an Assurance of the Performance of the Treaty, and to have it ratify'd by the Emperor his Father; whereupon two Lords of *France*, and two *Venetian* Noblemen were dispatch'd to that Prince, who receiv'd 'em with all manner of Honour and *Isaac is restor'd with his Son Alexius.*

Magnificence, and tho' he found the Articles very hard, yet over-joy'd at his Re-eſtabliſhment, and fearful of loſing his Empire a ſecond time, ſhould he by a Refuſal provoke his Deliverers, he inſtantly ratify'd 'em, and oblig'd himſelf with ſolemn Oaths to an inviolable Performance: After which the young Prince was conducted by the Confederate Lords in great Triumph to *Conſtantinople*, where he was aſſociated with his Father in the Empire, and crown'd the firſt of *Auguſt*, with all Magnificence and Solemnity, *A. D.* 1203.

who is Crown'd in Conſtantinople.

Among other things that *Alexius* had oblig'd himſelf to perform, he promis'd to renounce the Schiſm of his Anceſtors, and ſubject the *Greek* Church to the See of *Rome*; wherefore, that he might ſatisfie the Princes in ſo important an Article, he writ a handſom Letter to Pope *Innocent*, whom he acknowledg'd to be Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, and ſupream Head of the Univerſal Church; promiſing to render him and his Succeſſors that filial Obedience which was their Due, and to imploy all his Power to re-unite the *Greek* Church to the Head. Theſe Letters and Promiſes coſt him nothing, but he found it more difficult to anſwer the other Parts of his Engagement, to pay the Money he had promis'd, and furniſh the Troops he had oblig'd himſelf to mantain in the Holy-War. Wherefore having laid down a conſiderable part of the Money he ow'd 'em, he perſuaded the Princes to ſtay for the reſt, and defer their Departure 'till the next Spring, without which it would be impoſſible for him to furniſh 'em with the Shipping and Troops he had promis'd; for that he was not firmly eſtabliſh'd in his Empire, ſince his Uncle was ſtill in *Thrace*, ſupported by a ſtrong Party who continu'd in their Duty to him, and *Theodorus Laſcaris* had a great Body of Troops on the other ſide the *Boſphorus* in *Bithynia*. He therefore deſir'd 'em to perfect the Work they had ſo happily begun, and fix that Throne in Safety, on which they had plac'd him with ſo much

Gene-

Generosity; promising in the mean time plentifully to furnish 'em with whatever was necessary for the Subsistance of their Army, and pay the *Venetians* all their Charges in maintaining the Fleet during the War.

To this the Princes readily agreed, and that the Remainder of the Year might be employ'd to the best Advantage, they march'd against *Alexius*, who had seiz'd on *Adrianople*, from whence they drove him, and forc'd him to search for a more secure Retreat elsewhere. After which they reduc'd the greatest part of *Thrace*, and the Winter approaching they return'd full of Glory to *Constantinople*, which had been reduc'd almost to Ashes in their Absence, by a terrible Conflagration occasion'd by some *Latin* Soldiers, who in a drunken Fit plunder'd the Houses and a Mosque of the *Saracens*, which the late Emperor had scandalously allow'd 'em to build in the Imperial City. The *Saracens*, supported by the *Greeks*, the sworn Enemies of the *Latins*, flew upon this small Number of disorderly Soldiers, and press'd 'em so hard, that some of 'em, more desperately brutish than the rest, set Fire to a Row of wooden Houses that stood upon the Key the better to favour their Escape. It is impossible to express the horrible Ravage this dreadful Fire made, for expanding its Flames in an instant in those Tinder Buildings, it ran on in a Train like Wildfire from Street to Street, 'till it grew Masterless, and consum'd the most stately Edifices, the magnificent Palaces, and capacious Store-Houses of that opulent City. *A dreadful Conflagration.*

This horrible Conflagration seem'd a certain Presage of the approaching Ruin of the *Grecian* Empire, which God thought fit to punish for their many infamous Treasons committed against the first Adventurers in the Holy War, and to translate it to the *French*, as he did shortly after, and that at a time when it seem'd ready to recover part of its ancient Beauty and Vigour. The Manner was as follows.

There was at that time at *Conſtantinople* one of the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Ducas*, whoſe name was *Alexius*, and commonly call'd *Murtzuphle*, by reaſon his Eyebrows join'd and hung very thick over his Eyes, which was always conſider'd as a Mark of an ill Man; and indeed Hiſtory can hardly afford one who had a blacker Soul, or more ſavage Nature, or who would attempt more abominable Treaſons for the Accompliſhment of his own Ends. Following the Example of the late Uſurper, whom he had ſerv'd againſt *Iſaac*, he thought it no difficult Matter to make himſelf Maſter of the Empire, eſpecially at ſo happy a Conjuncture, when *Iſaac* the old Emperor, who could not endure ſo ſudden and unexpected a Change, was juſt deceas'd, and *Alexius* had render'd himſelf obnoxious to the People by his great Familiarity and Friendſhip ſhown to the *Latins*: He rightly concluded that his firſt Step was by Popularity, to ingratiate himſelf with the diſcontented Multitude; he therefore ſeem'd to lament the hard Condition of the Empire, engag'd by a Boy to a covetous and proud Nation, their implacable Enemies; he ſaid *Alexius had already given 'em the rich Iſland of* Crete, *and oblig'd the* Greek *Church to yield to the See of* Rome, *and was now preparing new Exactions to ſatisfie the inſatiable* Latins.

A. D. 1204. A Remonſtrance of this Nature, urg'd by a Man of *Murtzuphle*'s Quality, had its deſir'd Effect upon the unconſtant *Greeks*, who could not hear the Name of a *Latin* without Grief and Horror, eſteeming them the Cauſe of all their Miſeries, eſpecially of the late Deſolation of their City. When this was done, he, being a Man of a moſt ſupple and ſmooth Converſation, preſently convey'd himſelf into the Eſteem and Affections of *Alexius*, who being weak and unexperienc'd made this Traitor his only Confident. Having thus by a double Artifice impos'd both upon the Prince and the People, he firſt perſuaded the miſerable *Alexius*, who acted wholly by his Councils, and eſteem'd him as

an Oracle, to disoblige the Princes; and when they, who were justly provok'd at his unhandsome Behaviour, began to punish him with Acts of Hostility, he then procur'd a Deputation for himself to go to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, to whom he promis'd, in behalf of the deluded Prince, and by his Order, to deliver to him the Palace and Fortress of *Blaquernes*, as a Pawn of his Fidelity, provided the Princes would forgive what was past, and he would come and deliver him from the impatient Populace, who had by this time proclaim'd another Emperor in his room. The Marquis, not doubting the Concurrence of the other Princes, readily accepted the Proposition; but the perfidious *Murtzuphle*, immediately upon his Return the Night following, advertis'd the principal Persons of the City and of the Militia of this Treaty, and by his Agents instructed for that purpose rais'd a Tumult in the City, which, he said, *Alexius* had sold to the *Latins*. When he had rais'd the Storm up to the heighth he desir'd, he then rush'd at Midnight into the Bed-Chamber, where the unhappy Prince was fast asleep, and having awaken'd him, with a trembling Voice and repeated Sighs he told him that all was lost, that the Commonalty, Nobility, and Gentry, with the Guards, were all ready to fall upon the Palace and cut him in pieces, upon an Intimation that he design'd to deliver up the City to the *Latins*: Whereupon the amaz'd Prince, wholly abandoning himself to the Conduct of *Murtzuphle*, that perfidious Villain, who pres'd him to save himself, threw about him a Morning-Gown, carry'd him through many Windings into the remotest and most secure part of the Palace, from whence some of his Instruments, plac'd there for that purpose, dragg'd him to a loathsom Dungeon, where he liv'd in great Misery for a few Days, 'till the Tyrant, who had attempted his Life several times unsuccessfully by Poison, went himself to the Prison, and cruelly strangled him with his own Hands, the better to secure to himself the Crown, which he immediately usurp'd.

Murtzuphle *murders the young Emperor, and usurps.*

For

For having thus diſpos'd of *Alexius*, he inſtantly preſented himſelf to the People, to whom he gave an Account of what he had done for the Security of their Liberties, and earneſtly exhorted 'em to aſſiſt him in the Preſervation of 'em, and to make choice of an Emperor who had Courage enough to defend 'em againſt the *Latins*, that were ready to oppreſs and enſlave 'em. Hereupon the Guards, and all thoſe of his Faction, with mighty Acclamations ſaluted him Emperor, in which they were follow'd by the People, who are apt in all popular Tumults blindly to take thoſe Impreſſions which are firſt given 'em.

When this abominable Parricide was diſcover'd to the Princes, they for the preſent deferr'd the Enterprize of the Holy-Land, and reſolv'd to turn their Arms againſt the Uſurper, as well to revenge the horrible Murder committed upon the Perſon of him they had made Emperor, as to make themſelves Maſters of *Conſtantinople*, a thing the moſt neceſſary for the Conqueſt of the Holy-Land, as had been too evident in all the other Cruſades; ſo that the War began once more both by Sea and Land.

Conſtantinople beſieg'd by the Princes.

The Tyrant, who had been bred a Soldier, and knew his Safety entirely depended upon a vigorous Defence, fail'd not of giving all neceſſary Orders for it. Notwithſtanding which the Princes, who were not much concern'd at his Preparations, reſolv'd upon a general Aſſault, which they made on the eighth of *April*; and tho', animated by an ardent Deſire which they had, and a certain Hope of taking that Day the richeſt City in the World, the Soldiers did Miracles upon that Occaſion, yet the Number of the Defendants being infinite in compariſon of the Aſſailants, they were forc'd to retreat about three in the Afternoon, after they had loſt ſeveral brave Men, and a great many Engines of Battery. Notwithſtanding which the ſame Night in a Council of War they reſolv'd upon a ſecond Aſſault, concluding that

that the *French* should be intermix'd with the *Venetians* both by Sea and Land; that so the two Nations might not lay the blame of a Miscarriage, if any should happen upon one another: Upon *Monday* therefore, the twelfth of *April*, they renew'd the Assault with greater Vigour; and after many desperate Attacks and frequent Repulses, some *Frenchmen* planted their Ensigns upon one of the Towers adjoining to a Hill where the Tyrant was posted, and issu'd out his necessary Orders for the Defence; which when the rest beheld, as well they who fought on Shore, as those who were on the Gallies to support 'em, were so asham'd to see themselves behind-hand, that some of 'em throwing themselves with Precipitation ashore, whilst others planted their Ladders against the Walls, they all mounted in Shoals, and killing those who in this horrible Disorder made any Resistance, they quickly made themselves Masters of four other Towers, where they likewise planted their victorious Ensigns.

Whilst this was doing, others, who fought upon the Key, enrag'd to think they should be the last in taking *Constantinople*, with their Rams broke three of the Gates open, and they who were got into the Town over the Walls, open'd some others that were between the Towers they had taken, so that the whole Army enter'd, and drew up in Order within the Walls, where they continu'd in a Condition regularly to attack any that should be commanded to oppose 'em; 'till finding the Tyrant posted with full speed into the great Palace, which had one Gate upon the *Propontis*, and that the rest following that Example ran in a dreadful Disorder through the Streets to gain their Houses, then the Victors overthrew and kill'd all they could reach in their first Fury, as it is usual in taking a City by Storm, and made a most dreadful Slaughter among those miserable People. *and taken.*

The Night put a stop to the Current of this Fury, and the Princes having sounded a Retreat distributed their

their Men into three Quarters, where they had Orders to fortifie themselves, not doubting but there was still something more remaining to be done before they gain'd the rest of the City; but the next Morning they found all their Precautions unnecessary, for instead of being encounter'd with at least an hundred thousand Enemies, as they expected, they were met with nothing but Processions, which from all Quarters of the City came before 'em, bearing the Crosses, the Banners, and Images of their Saints, to implore the Clemency of the Victors.

For whilst the Princes had been distributing their Forces, as was before observ'd, *Murtzuphle*, following the Example of the Tyrant *Alexius*, as well in this as his Usurpation, tho' he at first threaten'd to attack the Princes in their Quarters, yet he made his Escape by Night upon a Ship provided for that purpose, taking with him the Empress *Euphrosyne*, the old Usurper's Wife, and her Daughter, the Princess *Eudoxia*, with whom he was so desperately in Love, that he chose rather to lose his Honour and Dignity than hazard the Loss of her, whom he was resolv'd to enjoy, cost what it would, and for whose sake he abandon'd his lawful Wife.

The Princes, surpriz'd to find Suppliants where they expected Enemies, promis'd them their Lives, their Honour, their Liberty, and one part of their Estates, which they knew by the Laws of War belong'd all to the Conquerors; and having commanded 'em to retire to their Houses, they gave the Soldiers the Plunder of the City for that Day, but with a strict Charge to shed no Blood, and to preserve the Honour of the Women; they also commanded 'em to bring all the Spoils into common Repositories, to the end a just Distribution might be made, according to the Merit and Quality of every Person.

and plunder'd for a whole Day together.

From hence we may judge of the mighty Riches of this Imperial City; for though the *Greeks* had

Time

Time enough, during the Night after the Aſſault, to hide, as they did, their moſt valuable Effects, which they afterwards peaceably enjoy'd; notwithſtanding the Fire muſt needs be ſuppos'd to have conſum'd an infinite deal of Goods and Treaſure, beſides that the Emperors, and moſt eminent Perſons of the Empire, who had made their Eſcape both by Sea and Land, had carry'd with them what was moſt portable and precious; without accounting the Moveables, the Statues, the Pictures, the Jewels, and other Things of mighty Value, and that part of the Booty which moſt of the Soldiers reſerv'd to themſelves, notwithſtanding all the Prohibitions to the contrary, yet the *French* had diſtributed among them above four hundred thouſand Marks in Silver, after the *Venetians*, who had half of the Spoils, had receiv'd their Share, and a fourth part of the whole had been reſerv'd for him who ſhould be choſen Emperor; ſo that both the Officers and Soldiers, who were before reduc'd to an extream Neceſſity of all Things, became that Day rich, and in an Inſtant exchang'd their Want for a moſt prodigious Plenty.

Thus the City of *Conſtantinople*, the moſt famous in the Eaſt, the Seat and Glory of the Eaſtern Empire, through the miſerable Diſſention of the *Greeks* for Sovereignty, fell under the Power of the *Latins*, eight hundred ſeventy four Years after the Removal of the Imperial Seat from *Rome* thither by *Conſtantine* the Great; ſeven hundred twenty eight after the Failure of the Weſtern Empire in *Auguſtulus*; four hundred and four after the Re-eſtabliſhment of it by *Charles* the Great; one hundred and ſix from the firſt Expedition of the Princes for the Recovery of the Holy-Land; the twenty fifth of *Philip Auguſtus*, King of *France*; and fifth of *John*, King of *England*, *An. Dom.* 1204.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Expulsion of the Greek *Emperors out of* Constantinople, *till their Restoration.*

Containing the Space of Sixty Years.

I. THO' the *Latins* had in this manner expell'd the *Greeks*, and made themselves Masters of *Constantinople*, yet the *Byzantine* Empire was not thereby dissolv'd, but divided; for *Theodorus Lascaris*, having escap'd during the general Confusion to *Adrianople*, fled afterwards into *Bithynia*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the Inhabitants, not only of that Country, but of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Ionia*, and *Lydia*, from the Windings of the River *Meander* Southward to the *Euxine* Sea. At the same time *David* and *Alexius Comneni*, the late Tyrant *Andronicus*'s Grand-Children, seizing on the more Eastern Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, founded a new Empire, and fix'd their Imperial Seat at *Trapezus*, or *Trapezond*, where their Posterity flourish'd, and maintain'd the Honour and Majesty of the Empire in an higher Degree than the *Constantinopolitans* themselves; 'till the Time of *David* the last Emperor, in whose Reign it was abolish'd by *Mahomet* the Great, who led the poor Prince Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he was cruelly murder'd.

But to return to *Constantinople*, where the Princes, after some Debates, proceeded to the Election of a new Emperor; for which Purpose twelve Electors had formerly been nam'd, at the same time that they had resolv'd to besiege the City, six of which were *Venetians*, and six *French*. After some Deliberation the Choice fell upon *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, a Prince who had all those admirable Qualities

ities requisite to an Emperor, which never fail to attract the Esteem, Veneration, Love and Affections of his Subjects, and who was accordingly crown'd in the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, with all the Magnificence usual at the Coronation of the Emperors, and with the Applause and Acclamations of the *Latins* and *Greeks*. To him the Princes assign'd, with the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, all the Country of *Thrace*, and a limited Sovereignty over the rest; after which they proceeded to a Division and Distribution of the other Lands and Provinces of the Empire: *Thessaly* was erected into a Kingdom, for *Boniface*, Marquis of *Montferrat*; the *Venetians* had the Isles of the *Archipelago*, great part of the *Peloponnesus*, with many Cities upon the Coasts of the *Hellespont* and *Phrygia*, together with the Isle of *Crete*, or *Candia*, which they purchas'd from the Marquis of *Montferrat*, to whom it had been given by the young *Alexius*. Liberal Shares were allotted to the other Adventurers, proportionable to the Charges they had been at in the Expedition.

Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders *chosen Emperor of* Constantinople *by the Princes.*

This mighty Alteration in the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, was attended with such Consequences as usually accompany all violent Mutations. The *Greeks*, who bore with Impatience the *Latin* Yoke, took all Opportunities of asserting their Liberties; and when *Baldwin*, the new Emperor, had reduc'd all *Thrace* except *Adrianople*, thither the better sort of the discontented *Greeks* fled as to a Sanctuary and Refuge, from the prevailing Power of the *Latins*. On the other side *Baldwin*, who knew of what Consequence a Place so considerable as that was would be to him, thought it proper to reduce it whilst his Friends were near to assist him, and therefore closely besieg'd it. Those within defended themselves with a Resolution hardly to be equall'd, whilst others of their Nation, who had withdrawn into *Bulgaria*, sollicited *John*, the King of that Country, to relieve 'em; and *John*, being assisted by the *Scythians*, readily

A. D. 1205.

Baldwin *besieges Adrianople.*

readily embark'd himself in their Quarrel. Wherefore marching at the Head of a gallant Army to their Relief, as he approach'd the City he detach'd a Party of *Scythians*, who were well acquainted with a Service of that Nature, to draw the Emperor, if possible, out of his Intrenchments, and by a pretended Flight intice him into a Place among Woods and Mountains, where the King had planted himself and the rest of his Army in order to entrap him. This Design was attended with the Success desir'd, the whole Army was overthrown with a great Slaughter, and *Baldwin* himself taken Prisoner, by which means the City was relieved: But the *Bulgarians*, after this Victory, greedily pursu'd their good Fortune, and with an inhuman Barbarity over-ran all the open Country, laying all the wealthy Cities of *Thrace* waste and desolate, except *Adrianople* and *Didymotheicum*, which were valiantly defended by the *Greeks* and *Latins* who had escap'd this Fury of the *Barbarians*; so dangerous it is for a People, even in the last Extremity, to call Foreigners in to their Assistance, who usually pay themselves for their Service at the Expence of those they have preserv'd: As for the unhappy Emperor himself, he was sent bound to *Ternova*, or *Ernoe*, the Captital of *Bulgaria*, where shortly after, having his Hands and Feet first cut off by the King's Command, he was thrown into a Valley, where he lay in excessive Misery for three Days together, at the End of which he died, and was devour'd by the Wild Beasts and Birds of Prey.

and is put to a cruel Death.

This was the unhappy End of *Baldwin*, the first Emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, whose Reign was not more short and troublesom, than his Death was cruel, and beyond all Imagination terrible. He was a Prince whom the *Greek* Historian himself, who we may imagine was not over-partial to his Memory, allows to have been of an exemplary Piety towards God, of admirable Charity and Goodness towards his Subjects, especially the poor and miserable; a great

Nicetas.

great Lover of Justice, and so nicely Chaste, that as he never bestow'd any amorous Glances upon any other Woman but his own Wife, so did he forbid, by publick Proclamation twice every Week, those who had in any manner violated the Laws of Chastity to continue in his Court. His extraordinary Temperance had so well manag'd his Constitution, that he was able with great Chearfulness to support all the Fatigues of War, and Inconveniences of Life.

In the mean time *Lascaris* found it no easie matter to settle and secure himself in his new Empire at *Nice*; it was long before the People would allow him the Imperial Title, and even after he was declar'd Emperor, he found many of his own Nation who pretended as just a Right to that Dignity, and endeavour'd to deprive him of it; tho' none appear'd more dangerous than his own Father-in-Law, the late Usurper *Alexius*: Who having, shortly after the Reduction of *Constantinople*, been taken Prison by *Boniface*, who sent him under a strong Guard into *Montferrat*, found Means to escape from thence, and passing over into *Asia*, the perfidious Dotard stirr'd up the *Turks* against the new Emperor, tho' he had marry'd his own Daughter; and the *Turks*, pretending what they did was in Vindication of *Alexius* the rightful Emperor, grievously infested the Territories of this new Empire, and added several Places of great Strength to their own Dominions. Whereupon the Emperor march'd at the Head of two thousand Men, the most he was able in that Exigence to raise, to the Relief of *Antioch* upon the *Mæander*, which standing upon that great River, the Boundary of his Empire, would open a Way for the *Turks* into the Heart of his Dominions, should he suffer it to fall into their Hands. In a Battel which was here fought between 'em, *Jathatines*, the Sultan of *Iconium*, was slain by the Emperor's own Hand, as some have written, and *Alexius* was taken and clapp'd up into a Monastery, where he had Time to reflect on the Miseries

ries with which he had involv'd his Country, and to finish his Life in Repentance.

Lascaris, having thus overthrown the *Turks*, concluded a Peace with them, and had time to settle his State, and secure his Dominions against *Henry*, the Brother of the late Emperor *Baldwin*, and his Successor at *Constantinople*. The War was continu'd between 'em with various Success for several Years, being both Princes of great Courage and Sagacity, as indeed the State of both their Empires seem'd at that time particularly to require.

For during the Confusions which immediately ensu'd the Loss of *Constantinople*, several Princes of the Imperial Family erected to themselves independant Principalities, where they exercis'd a Sovereign Power, and treated not only the *Latins*, but the *Greeks* as their Enemies, who would not acknowledge their Subjection; by which means this miserable Nation, being divided in it self, was the less able to oppose the *Latins*, who confirm'd themselves in their Dominion under the Administration of this Emperor *Henry*, and oblig'd *Lascaris* at last to own their Authority, and conclude a Peace with them.

Nor was *Lascaris* the only Enemy *Henry* had to contend with during his Reign; for *Michael Angelus*, a Prince nearly related to the late Emperors, having seiz'd on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, of which he declar'd himself Despot, was succeeded by his Brother *Theodorus*, who was a Man of great Designs, and impatiently bore the Domination of the *Latins*, with whom he constantly warr'd, and took several Towns from 'em on that Side, which he added to his own Dominions.

Henry the Latin Emperor, embarrass'd in his Affairs.

This War continu'd during the whole Reign of this Emperor, who was at that time busy'd with Affairs of the greatest Importance at home. The *Latins*, having made themselves Masters of *Constantinople*, did not only declare *Baldwin* Emperor, but promoted *Thomas Moresini*, a *Venetian*, to the Patriarchate, whose Creation

Creation being shortly after authoriz'd by Pope *Innocent*, the *Greek* Church was by that means re-united to the *Latin*; but this was done so much against the Inclination of the *Greek* Ecclesiasticks, that they omitted no Opportunity of declaring how far they were from complying with it; and when *Pelagius* was sent from *Rome* to receive their Submission in the Pope's Name, they oppos'd him so resolutely, that the angry Legate caus'd several of 'em to be clapp'd up in Prison, which threw all *Constantinople* into an Uproar. The Monks in a Remonstrance to *Henry* told him, *That in Things Temporal they had willingly subjected themselves to him, and were ready to obey him; but in Things Spiritual they had a Sovereign Pontiff of their own, who exacted their Obedience, and for that Reason they could not submit themselves to the Bishop of* Rome. *Henry* was naturally of a pacifick Temper, and was unwilling to oppress those whom by his Office he was bound to protect; so that, tho' he had great Veneration for the Pope's Authority, yet he chose rather at present to oppose the Legate, than run the Hazard of a popular Insurrection; wherefore he releas'd such as had been committed, which appeas'd the Tumult, but could not put an end to the Contests and Divisions that continu'd for a long time after.

In the mean time *Lascaris*, having concluded a Peace, as before observ'd, with the *Latin* Emperor at *Constantinople*, not only fortify'd his chief Cities against the Invasion of his Enemies, as well *Turks* as *Latins*, but endeavour'd to secure himself by such Alliances as he thought would prove most serviceable to the present Face of his Affairs. He had three Daughters by his first Wife *Anna*, one of which he had marry'd to the King of *Hungary*, and *Irene*, who was the Eldest, having bury'd her first Husband *Andronicus Palæologus*, was now marry'd to *John Ducas*, surnam'd *Batatza*, or *Vatatzes*, a Man of great Authority and no less Merit in his Court, whom he de-

Lascaris *appoints his Successor.* JOHN DUCAS VATACES.

ſign'd for his Succeſſor; for tho' he had a Son by his ſecond Wife, who was an *Armenian* by Birth, yet he being an Infant was judg'd unable to ſit at the Helm of State in ſuch Times of Danger, and that when the Empire it ſelf was in its Infancy.

After this we meet with little memorable during the Reign of this Emperor, but we ought not to conclude it 'till we have given the Reader a brief Account of the Fortunes of the *Latin* Princes, that reign'd in his Time in *Conſtantinople*. To *Baldwin*, the firſt of thoſe Emperors, ſucceeded *Henry* of *Heinault*, as has been before obſerv'd, who maintain'd the Empire with great Glory and Succeſs for ten Years together, and dy'd a Conqueror; after his Death, *Peter* of *Auxerre*, who had marry'd his Siſter, and ſignaliz'd himſelf upon ſeveral extraordinary Occaſions, was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed him. This Prince arriving at *Rome* in his Way to *Conſtantinople*, was ſolemnly crown'd there, together with his Wife, by Pope *Honorius* III. in the Beginning of *April*, *An.* 1217. and having ſent his Wife and Children before him by Sea, he enter'd into a Treaty with the *Venetians*, purſuant to which he march'd by the Way of *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and laid Siege to *Dyrrachium*, which was then in the Poſſeſſion of *Theodorus Comnenus*, Prince of *Epire*, and in whoſe Behalf it was vigorouſly defended by the Garriſon that was in it. So that being forc'd to raiſe the Siege, he came to an Agreement with *Theodorus*, who promis'd him a ſafe Paſſage to *Conſtantinople*, but ſet ſuddenly upon him in *Macedonia*, took him and the Principal Officers of his Court Priſoners, and put him to Death in the Year following. The *Greek* Writers, who are partial to their Countrymen, vary from this Account in ſome Particulars, and tell us that he was ſlain in an Engagement, and endeavour by that means to vindicate *Theodorus* from the Treachery imputed to him by the *Latins*, who however ſeem to have a better Authority for what they have written.

Peter, *the* Latin *Emperor, put to Death by* Theodorus Comnenus.

The

The Affairs of the *Latins* in *Constantinople* became so embaras'd by the untimely Death of this Prince, that *Philip*, Count of *Namure*, his eldest Son, refus'd the Succession; so that *Robert* of *Courtnay*, his second Son, was in a manner courted to accept of the Imperial Purple, and had the Misfortune to see the Empire miserably dismember'd in his Time, losing whatever his Predecessors had been Masters of on the other side the *Bosphorus* and *Hellespont* to *John Ducas Batatza*, of whom mention has been made already, and who succeeded *Theodorus Lascaris* at *Nice*.

Lascaris had govern'd that Part of the Empire the *Greeks* retain'd in *Asia* with great Success for eighteen Years together, during which he acquitted himself with great Reputation in all those Difficulties which usually attend new States surrounded with potent Enemies. He had frequent and signal Advantages over the *Turks*, the *Latins*, and *Bulgarians*, by which he exceedingly strengthen'd the Empire, which he may in a great measure be said to have founded. This made him universally belov'd by his Subjects, who, in Imitation of their Prince, profited in the School of Adversity, and attempted not only to recover the Dominions of their Ancestors, but to revive their Glory and Military Discipline. Before his Death he took care to leave such a Successor behind him, as might be able to preserve the Reliques of the old *Roman* Empire, by him collected into one Body, and for that reason put by not only his own Son, but his two Brothers, *Alexius* and *Isaac*, therein preferring the publick Weal before his own private Affections, or the aggrandizing of his Family. As he was a Man of many Virtues, so was he subject to some Vices; being fiery and Impatient, and most abominably addicted to the Love of Women. His Liberality and Expences exceeded the Income of his narrow Estate, which made him frequently oppress his Subjects with heavy Taxations;

who obſerving in how higher a degree their Neighbours on every ſide were haraſs'd and impoveriſh'd, ſubmitted chearfully, and oftentimes ſupply'd him with their voluntary Contributions. He dy'd before he was full forty eight Years of Age, and after he had reign'd about eighteen, in the firſt of *Robert* Emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, the tenth of *Frederick* Emperor of *Germany*, and fifth of *Henry* III. King of *England*, *A. D.* 1221.

A. D. 1221. *Laſcaris* being dead, *John Ducas* was crown'd by the Hands of *Manuel*, Patriarch of the *Greek* Church at *Nice*: Being a Man of Spirit, ſlow in reſolving, but indefatigable in the Execution of what he had once reſolv'd, the Eyes and Expectations of all his Subjects were fix'd upon him; and upon Experience they found, that the Erection of their new Empire was owing to the Activity of *Laſcaris*, but to ſupport it requir'd the deliberate Care, Prudence, and Circumſpection of his Succeſſor *Ducas*.

This new Emperor, immediately after his Coronation, began to enquire into the State of his Army, and beheld with Regret the narrow Limits of his Empire, which he prepar'd with great Induſtry to enlarge; he rais'd new Levies, augmented his Legions, and invited ſuch Officers into his Service as he judg'd would be of uſe to him. Having no leſs a Deſign in View than the Recovery of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, and whatever the *Latins* held in *Greece* or *Thrace*, which he knew could not be done without a powerful Navy, he built a great Number of Gallies in the ſeveral Ports of *Aſia*, and Mann'd out a ſtrong Fleet, with which in the Courſe of his Wars he took in moſt of the Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea, and paſſing the *Helleſpont* he invaded the *Cherſoneſe*, and afterwards pierc'd up even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, to the great Terror of the *Latins*, who gave an unhappy Beginning to the War themſelves: For *Alexius* and *Iſaac*, the late Emperor's Brothers, offended at the Preference of *John*, withdrew to *Conſtantinople*, where they

John Ducas *his Succeſs againſt the* Latins.

they earnestly sollicited Aid from the *Latins* against him, whom they consider'd as no other than an Usurper. *Robert*, the *Latin* Emperor, readily undertook their Protection, and having rais'd a formidable Army, committed it to their Conduct. In the mean time *John*, who had been inform'd of their Designs, prepar'd for their Reception, and engaging with 'em at a Place call'd *Poemanenum*, got the Advantage after a long and bloody Dispute, cut off the Flower of the Army, and took the two Brethren Prisoners, who shortly after lost their Eyes by his Command. The Loss of this Victory prov'd a great Stroke to the Affairs of the *Latins* in the East, as on the other Hand it serv'd to exhilerate and revive the afflicted *Greeks*, who receiv'd new Courage from this Success, and consider'd it as a Pledge of their future Prosperities. A. D. 1224.

Assan, or *Azen*, the King of *Bulgaria*, who had for some time been equally terrible both to the *Latins* and *Greeks*, was so touch'd with the Reputation of this Prince's Exploits, that he made a voluntary Offer of his Daughter *Helena* in Marriage to *Theodore* the Emperor's Son, which was readily embraced by *John*; for he knew of what Consequence the Alliance of so powerful a Prince would be, who otherwise was able effectually to stop him in the Course of his Victories, and assist his Enemies against him; so that the Matter was quickly concluded, and the Nuptials celebrated with great Solemnity, tho' neither the Bride nor Bridegroom were at that time much above ten Years of Age. *He marries his Son to the King of Bulgaria's Daughter,*

This Advantageous Alliance was no sooner esta- *and concludes a Peace with the Turks.* blish'd, but the Sultan of *Iconium* sent his Ambassadors to *Nice*, to confirm and prolong the Truce between the two Crowns. The Sultan was at this time grievously straiten'd by the *Tartars*, who having driven the *Turks* out of *Persia*, and the more Eastern Provinces, began now to press hard upon 'em in the lesser *Asia*; and the Sultan fearing lest he should be

assaulted by the *Greeks* at a time when all his Forces were oppos'd to so potent an Enemy, earnestly courted the Emperor to a Peace; to which *John*, upon weighty Considerations, readily inclin'd: For he not only knew how difficult it would be for him to contend with the *Turks* in *Asia*, at the same time that he was engag'd with the *Latins* in *Europe*, but he was also willing to preserve the former, as a Barrier to his Dominions, against the more prevailing Power of the *Tartars*.

Theodore, Prince of Epire, presses hard upon the Latins.

About this Time, whilst the Emperor *John Ducas* distress'd the *Latins* on the side, *Theodorus Comnenus*, Prince or Despot of *Epire*, pres's'd 'em with equal Vigour and Success on the other. He took from 'em all *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, and so far enlarg'd his Dominions, that disdaining a more moderate Title, he assum'd that of Emperor, and was crown'd by the Hands of *Demetrius*, Arch-Bishop of *Bulgaria*, with which both the Pope and the *Greek* Patriarch were highly offended, whilst *Vatates* rather silently permitted than approv'd or condemn'd what had been done. But *Theodoous* his Success had transported him beyond all Prudence and Moderation, and render'd him so arrogant and presumptuous, that tho' he had lately concluded a perpetual Peace with *John*, the Son of *Azen*, King of *Bulgaria*, and marry'd his Brother *Manuel* to that Prince's Daughter, yet this restless, haughty, imperious Spirit, impatient of Restraint, broke through all, and in Defiance of the Peace lately confirm'd, declar'd War against *John*, whom he consider'd as a petty Prince, unable to oppose so renown'd a Conqueror. Having rais'd a powerful Army, consisting of *Latins* as well as *Greeks*, he enter'd *Bulgaria*, where he receiv'd an entire Defeat lost the most experienc'd Officers of his Army, and was himself taken Prisoner by the Conqueror, who order'd him to be blinded, as a just Reward for his Perfidiousness and Ambition.

But is overthrown and blinded by the Bulgarians.

By

By this time the Emperor *John Vataces* had ſo effectually weaken'd the *Latins*, during the Reign of their unactive Prince *Robert*, that they were glad to ſue for a Peace, which upon advantageous Conditions was granted 'em; and the Subjects of the Empire being now deliver'd from a long and bloody War, continu'd for ſeveral Years, ſometimes with the *Turks*, at others with the Chriſtians, apply'd themſelves with great Induſtry to the fruitful Arts of Peace, in which the Emperor himſelf became a moſt remarkable Example, and earneſtly encourag'd all his Subjects to follow it. He not only ſupply'd his own Houſhold with the Fruits of his Husbandry, but daily reliev'd the Poor, and ſtock'd great Store-houſes with the Overplus. From him this commendable Induſtry deriv'd it ſelf, as from a Fountain to the reſt, ſo that in a few Years every Granary was ſtor'd with Corn, every Cellar fill'd with Wine, and a general Plenty ſhin'd throughout the Land; and this at a time when the *Turks* were pinch'd with a grievous Famine, who therefore had recourſe to the Emperor's Territories for Proviſions, which they purchas'd at whatever Price the Chriſtians thought fit to demand for 'em; this in a ſhort time fill'd the Countrymen's Houſes with the Wealth of the *Turks*, and ſtor'd the Emperor's Coffers with their Treaſure, for they were forc'd in that Extremity to part not only with their Gold and Silver, but their Jewels, and whatever elſe they had of a more precious Value. And it is not a Matter the leaſt remarkable during this Emperor's Reign, that ſo much Money was collected in a ſhort time by the Sale of Eggs, as ſerv'd to make the Empreſs an Imperial Crown of Gold adorn'd with Oriental Pearl and Jewels of an ineſtimable Value.

The Effects of Peace.

A. D. 1228. About this time dy'd *Robert*, Emperor of the *Latins*, in *Conſtantinople*, after an unfortunate Reign of ſeven Years, during which he ſaw his Countrymen weaken'd and diſtreſs'd more than ever they had been before.

Robert *the Emperor of* Conſtantinople *dies.*

He

He dy'd in *Achaia*, as he was returning from *Rome*, where he had been to be crown'd in a more solemn manner by the Pope, as some have written; tho' others say his Business there was to complain of a barbarous Outrage committed upon his beautiful Empress by a *Burgundian* Lord, to whom she had been contracted formerly, but had deserted him at the Instigation of her Mother, who was charm'd with the Honour of the Imperial Bed: For this Reason the incens'd Lover cut off her Nose and Ears, and threw her ambitious Mother into the Sea. Tho' this Account be true in Substance, yet 'tis most probable this Barbarity was committed during the Absence of the Emperor, whose Power and Authority, had he been present, might have been sufficient to have protected the unhappy Princess from so inhuman a Treatment. However it were, the Sense of it struck so deep into his Mind, that it hasten'd his Death, and left the *Burgundian* to triumph unpunish'd in his bloody Revenge.

A barbarous Outrage committed upon the Person of the Empress.

Robert being dead, *Baldwin*, the second of that Name, succeeded him, being his Son, as most of the *Latin* Writers will have it, or rather his Brother, as we learn from more Authentick Accounts. This Prince was, at *Robert*'s Death, no more than eight Years of Age, for which Reason 'twas judg'd necessary to marry him to some Lady, an Alliance with whose Family might prove a Support to his tender Years and the declining Empire.

Baldwin II. *succeeds.*

From the time that the *Latins* had driven the *Greeks* out of *Constantinople*, an Emulation and Enmity had been preserv'd between the two Imperial Families at *Nice* and *Trabezond*, which animated 'em to so high a degree, that nothing but the common Fear they had of the *Latins* restrain'd 'em from open Acts of Hostility; so that upon this Occasion *Comnenus*, the Emperor of *Trabezond*, earnestly desir'd to marry his Daughter to *Baldwin*, promising no less than the utter Ruin of *John Vataces* from such an Alliance.

This

This Offer had undoubtedly been embrac'd by thoſe at *Conſtantinople*, had they not ſtill, upon good Grounds, diſtruſted the Sincerity of the *Greeks*: This Conſideration made 'em reject the Propoſal, and incline to *John de Brienne*, at that time General of the Pope's Armies in the Weſt, whoſe eldeſt Daughter *Jolanta* had been formerly marry'd to *Frederick*, the Weſtern Emperor, who depriv'd him of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to which he had been advanc'd in Right of his Wife *Mary*, Daughter of *Iſabella* the former Queen. *John* was at that time, according to the *Greek* Writers, near eighty Years of Age, of an eſtabliſh'd Reputation in Arms, being eſteem'd one of the greateſt Captains in his Time, and an exact Obſerver of his Word. Him the Lords at *Conſtantinople* ſent to deſire of the Pope for their Emperor, aſſuring him that after his Death the Succeſſion ſhould return to *Baldwin*, who was to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, or *Martha*, his Daughter, whom he had by his ſecond Wife *Berengaria*, the Daughter of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*. By this means *John*, whoſe extraordinary Merits had rais'd him firſt to the Royalty from a private State, and at length advanc'd him to the Imperial Dignity, was receiv'd with great Solemnity at *Conſtantinople*: Some ſay he declin'd the Name of Emperor, contenting himſelf with that of *Cæſar*, and Guardian of the Empire; however, ſince he acted with an Imperial Authority, he is by ſome added to the Catalogue of their Emperors.

John de Brienne *Guardian at* Conſtantinople.

Whilſt *John de Brienne* was applying himſelf in ſome meaſure to re-eſtabliſh the Affairs of his miſerable Empire, the *Greek* Emperor, in Conjunction with *John Azen*, King of *Bulgaria*, exceedingly haraſs'd the *Latins*, and having recover'd ſeveral Towns from the *Venetians*, as well as the *French*, they fell with their confederated Forces upon *John*, who behav'd himſelf with a Courage and Magnanimity equal to his former Reputation, but was not attended with his uſual Succeſs. At firſt Fortune ſeem'd to countenance

nance his Labours, for with an handful of Men he overthrew a powerful Army, which had laid close Siege to *Constantinople* both by Sea and Land; but the continu'd Wars with those two Princes had in time so weaken'd and diminish'd his Forces, that he had no more left than were necessary for the Defence of *Constantinople*, when he was attack'd with two potent Armies on both Sides, which oblig'd him to shut himself up in the Imperial City, and send the young Emperor *Baldwin* to sollicit in Person Assistance from the Pope, and the Princes in the West, which was at this time miserably distracted by different Factions, especially by the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*, who laid waste all the Provinces, and, to satiate their Revenge, bury'd one another under the Ruins of their miserable Country.

A. D. 1237. *where he dies.* This made *Baldwin* meet with many Difficulties in his Negociation, which he zealously pursu'd in *Rome*, in *France*, and *England*; but *John*, his Father-in-Law, dy'd during these Transactions at *Constantinople*, after he had receiv'd the Satisfaction of seeing his Enemies defeated by the *Venetians*, and when he had govern'd as Administrator of the Empire seven Years, according to some, tho' others make it ten, and some extend it even to twenty. The Loss of this Great Man would without doubt have prov'd fatal to the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, had not some unhappy Divisions interrupted the Friendship that had been confirm'd between *Vataces* and *Azen*, who, in defiance of all former Oaths and Obligations, cunningly recover'd his Daughter he had marry'd to the Emperor's Son, and confederated himself against him with the *Latins*; which prov'd of ill Consequence to *Vataces* his Affairs, and would in all probability have recover'd from the *Greeks* all they held in *Europe*, and shaken their Empire it self in *Asia*, if some unfortunate Attempts had not alarm'd the Conscience of the unconstant *Azen*, and reconcil'd him to his former Engagements.

Shortly

Shortly after this, *Azen*, having loſt his former Wife, who was an *Hungarian* by Birth, marry'd *Irene*, the Daughter of *Theodorus Angelus*, who had formerly uſurp'd the Imperial Honours, and having been overthrown by *Azen*, loſt his Eyes by his Order, as we obſerv'd before, and was now kept in honourable Reſtraint. This unexpected and advantageous Alliance produc'd a wonderful Alteration in his Fortune, for *Azen* not only releas'd him, but aſſiſted him in the Recovery of *Theſſalonica*, and all the adjacent Territories, out of which he drove his Brother *Manuel*, who had govern'd for ſome time with an independent Authority in thoſe Parts. Being by theſe means in a great meaſure reſtor'd to his former Power, the blind Prince declin'd the Imperial Title himſelf, but conferr'd it on his Son *John*, whom he caus'd to be acknowledg'd and honour'd as Emperor.

The Emperor *John Vataces* beheld theſe Tranſactions with a jealous Eye, but foraſmuch as *Theodorus* was ſupported by the King of *Bulgaria*, who was likewiſe his Allie, he thought he could not at preſent reſent it as he ought, and therefore deferr'd it to a more favourable Opportunity, which ſhortly after was preſented him: For *Azen* dying, left the Kingdom of *Bulgaria* to *Callimanus*, a Son by his former Wife, who being but a Boy was eaſily perſuaded by thoſe of his Court, who were *Vataces* his Penſioners, to renew the Alliance with the Emperor, and to ſit ſtill whilſt he ſaw *Vataces* ſtrip *Theodorus*'s Son of thoſe Honours with which his Father had inveſted him. By a wonderful Dexterity he prevail'd with *Theodorus* to abandon his own Son, and having engag'd the *Scythians*, who not long before had pierc'd through *Bulgaria* and ſettled themſelves in *Macedon*, to eſpouſe his Quarrel, he paſt over into *Thrace*, where he recover'd ſuch Towns as were in the Poſſeſſion of the Mock-Emperor, and forc'd him to abjure his Title, and be contented with that of Deſpot.

By

By these Means *Vatuces* recover'd several Places of great Consequence, and enlarg'd his Dominions in those Parts; and the young King of *Bulgaria* dying shortly after, he extended his Conquests yet further, and grew almost as powerful in *Europe*, as he was in *Asia*.

A.D. 1255.

The rest of this active Emperor's Reign was spent in the Settlement of his new Conquests, and in frequent Expeditions against those, who having once own'd his Authority perfidiously renounc'd it, and took up Arms against him; in which he was attended with his usual Success, seldom or never attempting any thing which he did not effect. At length, being full of Years, as well as Honours, he paid the last Debt to Nature, after a glorious Reign of thirty three Years, and when he had liv'd upwards of sixty, leaving the Character of a great Soldier, a vigilant Prince, and consummate Statesman, behind him, as appears by his frequent Victories and successful Negotiations. 'Tis observable of him, that in the Beginning of his Reign he was affable, and easie of Access; but having been once alarm'd by a Conspiracy form'd against him, he grew more difficult and reserv'd, to which he was instigated by *Irene* the Empress, a Woman of a Temper manly and imperious. Tho' he was an indulgent Master, yet was he more liberal to Strangers and Ambassadors than his own Subjects and Servants, as desiring to be renown'd for his Magnificence abroad rather than at home. After the Death of *Irene*, who dy'd several Years before him, he marry'd *Ann*, the King of *Sicily*'s Sister, who had in her Service a Lady of an uncommon Beauty, call'd *Marcesina*, with whose Love the Emperor grew so much ensnar'd, that she became absolute in his Affections. Whilst he was in the Possession of this Dotage, the fair Favourite reign'd with almost an unlimited Authority, equalling the Empress in State and Magnificence, and by far exceeding her in her Followers and Attendants; 'till straining her Power too far, the aged Emperor at length became asham'd

Vatuces *dies.*

His Character.

of

of his Folly, and his Mistress fell into Disgrace. *Vatazes* dy'd in the twenty eighth Year of *Baldwin* II. the twentieth of *Lewis* IX. King of *France*, and thirty eighth of *Henry* III. King of *England*, *A. D.* 1255.

THEODORUS LASCARIS II.

John Ducas Vataces being dead, his Son *Theodorus Lascaris*, who was about thirty three Years of Age, succeeded him in the Empire. The Beginning of this Prince's Reign was remarkable for the Treaty renew'd between him and the Sultan of *Iconium*; to which he more readily inclin'd, because he was inform'd that his Brother-in-Law, the King of *Bulgaria*, and *Michael Angelus* the Despot, hearing of his Father's Death, had rais'd new Troubles in *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, not without Hope at length of joining what the Emperor held in *Europe* to their own Territories. Whereupon having first provided for the Security of his Affairs in *Asia*, he pass'd the *Hellespont* with a powerful Army, and acted with so much Courage and Success, that those Princes were glad to accept of a Peace upon his own Terms, and restore whatever they had taken from him. Whilst he lay at *Thessalonica* he receiv'd Letters from *Nice*, informing him that *Michael Palæologus*, whom he had left for his Lieutenant in *Asia* during his Absence, had secretly withdrawn to the *Turks*; with which he was the more concern'd, because he knew *Michael* was a Man of great Interest and Authority, being descended from no less than five Imperial Families, and well vers'd in the Arts both of Peace and War.

Michael Palæologus *withdraws to the* Turks.

Whilst the Emperor was dreading the Consequences of such a Revolt, he was inform'd that *Michael* had declar'd that what he did proceeded not from any Disaffection to the Emperor, or Ill-will towards him, but that he had devoted himself to a voluntary Exile, to avoid those Dangers with which he was threaten'd by the implacable Malice of his Enemies who fill'd the Emperor's Ears with odious Complaints against him, and render'd him suspected to his Master.

Palæo-

Palæologus was receiv'd with an hearty Welcome by the *Turks* at *Iconium*, where he found the Sultan busy'd in his Preparations against the *Tartars*, who having driven the *Turks* out of *Persia*, pursu'd their Fortune, and by their continual Incursions harass'd their Territories in the lesser *Asia*, lying now with a formidable Army at *Axara*, a Town not far from *Iconium*. *Palæologus* had the Command of such *Greeks* as had enter'd into the Sultan's Pay, with which he did such Service in the Battel that was fought shortly after, that the *Tartars* had been absolutely defeated, if a *Turkish* Officer, who had a principal Command in the Army, and was nearly related to the Sultan, had not revolted in the Heat of the Action, and turn'd the Fortune of the Day. After this the *Tartars* rov'd up and down without Control, plundering and destroying all the Provinces belonging to the *Turks*, whilst no one had the Strength or Courage to oppose 'em. In this Extremity the Sultan fled for Aid to *Theodorus* the Emperor, who granted him such Supplies as he could well spare; notwithstanding which the *Tartars* still prevail'd in all Parts, 'till at length they forc'd the *Turks* to accept of a dishonourable Peace, and become Tributaries to 'em.

The Turks tributary to the Tartars.

Palæologus had acquir'd so extraordinary a Reputation in these Wars, that the Emperor earnestly desir'd to recover so deserving a Servant, and by kind and gracious Letters, attended with most solemn Promises for his Security, invited him home. Whereupon *Palæologus*, having first taken an Oath of Obedience and Fidelity to the Emperor and his Son, and oblig'd himself never to aspire after the Empire, or encourage any Innovations, return'd with great Joy home, where he was restor'd to the Emperor's Favour, and all his former Honours and Employments.

Palæologus recall'd home.

Theodorus had great reason to exact that Oath from *Palæologus*, whose Ambition was almost equal to the Interest he had in the Empire. The Emperor himself declin'd

declin'd daily in his Health, and his Son was not then six Years of Age, which were Temptations sufficient to try the Temper of a Man less aspiring than *Palæologus*, who made it appear shortly after how difficult it is for Men to be restrain'd by Oaths, tho' never so solemnly made, when they oppose them in their Pursuit to Empire.

The Emperor, perceiving that Death approach'd, recommended the Care of the young Prince his Son, and of the Empire, to his chief Favourite *Muzalo*, and *Arsenius* the Patriarch; exacting at the same time an Oath of Fidelity from the Nobility and Principal Officers in his Army. When this was done, he dy'd full of prophetick Fears of what follow'd afterwards, when he had reign'd not three Years compleat, according to some, or as others will have it, upwards of four. Some time before his Death he took the Monastick Habit, dispos'd great Sums of Money to the Poor, and sincerely apply'd himself to Acts of Devotion. His Death was usher'd in by a remarkable Eclipse of the Sun, which was so great that the Stars appear'd at Noon-Day. He dy'd in the thirty third of *Lewis* IX. King of *France*, forty third of *Henry* III. King of *England*, *A. D.* 1259. *The Emperor dies.*

MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS.

Man often by his Prudence can foresee, what it is not in his Power with all his Care to prevent. *Theodorus*, before his Death, made that Provision for the Security of his Son and the State, as became a Father and an Emperor, but the Will of God was otherwise, and all his Precautions were ineffectual.

Muzalo, one of the young Prince's Guardians, was a Person of obscure Birth, but having been educated in the Court from his Youth with the late Emperor, he was so entirely affected to him, that he did nothing without first consulting his faithful Favourite, who was a diligent Observer of his Will, a ready Minister of his Affairs, and the uncorrupted Partner of all his Secrets. This * Man, tho' he worthily deserv'd the

* Muzalo, *Guardian to the young Prince, enby the Nobility.*

Truſt the Emperor had repos'd in him, was however envy'd by the Nobility, who preſuming upon their high Birth, thought the Care and Tuition of the young Prince belong'd more properly to ſome of them. This kindled in 'em an irreconcileable Hatred to *Muzalo*, and that was follow'd ſhortly after by an Averſion to the unhappy young Prince himſelf. *Muzalo*, who was a Man of a juſt and ready Apprehenſion, ſoon perceiv'd how diſagreeable he was to the diſcontented Nobility; whom therefore having ſummoned together, he in a ſet Speech repreſented to 'em the great Truſt had been repos'd in him by the late Emperor, how difficult he found the Execution of that Truſt to be, and how ready he was to reſign it to ſuch of them as they ſhould in their Prudence think fit to appoint for the Execution of it. Tho' this was what all of them deſir'd, yet none among 'em appearing ready to accept of it, they unanimouſly agreed no one was ſo worthy of that Charge as himſelf, and therefore they reſolv'd it ſhould be continu'd to him. *Muzalo*, who ſincerely deſir'd to retire to a private Life, and withdraw himſelf from the Dangers with which he ſaw he was threaten'd, oppos'd 'em at firſt with great Reſolution; but when all he could ſay or do was to no purpoſe, he then once more receiv'd a ſolemn Oath from 'em, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be confirm'd in his Charge, every one ſwearing to defend and obey the young Emperor to the utmoſt of their Power, and ſupport and protect *Muzalo* in the Tuition of him, and the Adminiſtration of the Empire.

Notwithſtanding all theſe repeated Aſſeverations, they grew in a Moment forgetful of whatever they had ſworn, and reſolv'd upon the Death of him whom they had juſt before declar'd Protector of the Emperor and Empire. The Day appointed for this Sacrifice to their Envy and Diſcontents was that which had been deſign'd for the Obſequies of the late Emperor, at which time the Conſpirators repair'd to the Abby of

of *Sofandra*, where *Theodorus* was to be interr'd, mixing themselves among an infinite Multitude of People, who had resorted thither, as it is usual at such Solemnities; and in the midst of the Holy Office, at a Word given, they with their drawn Swords pursu'd *Muzalo*, who, with his two Brothers, *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, had fled for Refuge to the Altar, where they were most inhumanly massacred. And tho' the Matrons appointed for Mourners fled away in great Confusion, yet these Butchers forc'd the Monks, who were flying with the rest, to return and finish the bloody Obsequies. *and is murd.*

Muzalo being thus barbarously remov'd, *Arsenius* was left sole Guardian to the young Prince. This Prelate was a Person of great Learning and Integrity, but having from his Youth led a retir'd contemplative Life, was a Stranger to State-Affairs, and the Management of an headstrong ungovernable People; wherefore he call'd those very Persons to Council, who had complotted the Death of his Collegue, with whom he consulted what was to be done in that Exigency.

In this Council it manifestly appear'd of how much Power *Palæologus* was among 'em; to him they directed all their Discourses, and fix'd their Eyes on him, as a Man the most proper, for his Wisdom and Experience, to be entrusted with the Care of the young Prince, and the Management of the State. The Patriarch had some time before made him Pay-master of the Army; by vertue of which Trust he had a mighty Treasure at Command, and was by that means able to oblige such as he thought would prove the fittest for his Purpose, and with the first Opportunity favour his ambitious Designs. He was therefore upon this Occasion unanimously declar'd Protector of the Prince and Empire, and by that means invested with so large a Power, that he wanted nothing but the Title of Emperor. *Palæologus aspires.* *and is declar'd Protector.*

This extraordinary good Fortune might have satisfy'd any Man of less aspiring Thoughts than *Palæologus*. That the World might see how worthy he was of

those Honours to which he was advanc'd, by a timely Care he check'd the Insolence of *Michael Angelus*, Despot of *Epirus*, who presuming upon the Distractions of the State after the Death of the late Emperor, and being supported by the King of *Sicily* and some other of his Allies, had enter'd with a powerful Army into *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, burning and destroying all before him. *Palæologus* sent his Brother *John* at the Head of a considerable Body of Forces against him, who was attended with so much Success, that *Michael*, after a great Loss, was forc'd to retire into his own Territories, leaving the Flower of his Army dead behind him.

The Reputation of this considerable Service strengthen'd the Authority of *Palæologus*, who apply'd all to the perfecting of his own ambitious Designs. He had by this time so far prevail'd upon the good Opinion of the People, especially some of the most powerful among the Nobility and Clergy, that he was with a general Applause saluted Emperor; and tho' the Patriarch *Arsenius* was in no manner consenting to what had been done, but threaten'd at first to Excommunicate both *Palæologus* and his Adherents, yet was he at length either persuaded or terrify'd into a Compliance, and having first exacted an Oath of Resignation when the young Emperor should be of Age, he condescended to Crown *Michael*, whom he would have the World esteem as Emperor only in Trust, and as a Guardian accountable to another, so soon as he should be in a Capacity of demanding that Account from him.

and crowned Emperor.
A. D. 1260.

Whatever the good Patriarch's Designs were, *Palæologus* made it appear, in the Event, that he had other things in view, and that he intended to enjoy that as his own, which *Arsenius* would be thought to have conferr'd upon him only as a Proxy. Being thus settled and confirm'd in his new Authority, he apply'd himself not only to the Security of his present Dominions, but to the Recovery of such others as had formerly

merly belong'd to his Predeceſſors. Among thoſe who had been taken Priſoners by his Brother *John* in *Macedonia* was the Prince of *Peloponneſus* and *Achaia*, who having marry'd *Michael Angelo's* Daughter, was by vertue of that Alliance drawn into his Quarrel; this Prince was brought Priſoner to *Nice*, immediately after the Coronation of *Palæologus*, and that Emperor would not be prevail'd upon to releaſe him, 'till he had deliver'd up to him *Sparta* and two other Cities of great Conſequence in *Peloponneſus*; all which being eſteem'd very ſerviceable to his future Deſigns, were committed to the Care of his Brother *Conſtantine*, a vigilant and experienc'd Officer, who ſhortly after recover'd ſeveral other Towns from the *Latins*, and by degrees reduc'd the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*. When this was done, the Emperor in Perſon paſs'd with a great Army over into *Thrace*, with a deſign to lay Siege to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf; which when he perceiv'd it was a thing too extraordinary to be at that time attempted, he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Pera*; the Conqueſt of which he knew would prove of dangerous Conſequence to the Town it ſelf. Here he met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that after he had been ſeveral times repuls'd, he found himſelf oblig'd to retire; but before he return'd home, he took Care ſo effectually to diſpoſe his Soldiers in Garriſon up and down in thoſe Parts, that *Conſtantinople* was in a manner block'd up, and the Inhabitants ſo reſtrain'd by the Incurſions which *Palæologus's* Soldiers made up to the very Gates of the City, that in a ſhort time they were reduc'd to the greateſt Extremities, being, among other Neceſſities, oblig'd to burn ſome of the moſt beautiful Houſes in the City for want of Fewel. *Palæologus*, in the mean time, return'd to *Nice*, where he continu'd forming new Deſigns, 'till *Michael Angelo* rais'd freſh Troubles in the Weſt, and Chance preſented him with an Opportunity of obtaining what with all his Care he had not been able to effect. A. D. 1261.

Alexius Strategopulus *sent against the Despot of Epire.*

Palæologus made Choice of *Alexius Strategopulus*, a Man of great Nobility, and who, for his extraordinary Services, had been dignify'd with the Title of *Cæsar*, to command against the Despot, sending with him no more than eight hundred *Bithynian* Soldiers, but gave him a Commission to raise more in his March, and Orders, as soon as he had pass'd the *Streights*, to take his Way through the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, on purpose to terrifie the *Latins*, whom he was willing to confine, if possible, within their Walls, and by frequent Alarms to keep 'em still upon their Duty.

The fortunate *Alexius* encamp'd with his handful of Men at a Place call'd *Regium*, not far from *Constantinople*, where he accidentally met with some poor Labourers, *Greeks* by Nation, by whom he was inform'd of the Condition the City was in, that a great Body of the *Latins* were gone under the Conduct of a young *Venetian* Nobleman to the Siege of *Daphnusia*, a Town lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, that the Garrison was very weak and ill provided, and that it would be no difficult Matter to surprize it, offering themselves at the same time to be his Guides. These Men liv'd within the City close to one of the Gates, near which was an old Mine, which afforded a secret unsuspected Entrance, unknown to all but themselves: Here they promis'd *Alexius* to receive in fifty of his Soldiers by Night, who having first secur'd the Watch, might force open the Gate, and prepare an Entrance for the rest of his Army, engaging at the same time to provide a powerful Assistance for 'em among their Friends in the City. The Thing appear'd so reasonable, that *Alexius* promis'd himself an undoubted Success; having therefore highly commended the Men for their honest Zeal in the Service of their Country, he dismiss'd 'em with liberal Gifts, and encourag'd 'em with large Promises of what they were to expect hereafter, and immediately prepar'd to put that Design in Execution, which had been so happily concerted.

'Tis

'Tis wonderful to conſider in what fatal Security *Baldwin*, the *Latin* Emperor, liv'd at that time in *Conſtantinople*, tho' he was ſurrounded with Enemies, who had diſmember'd his little Empire, and left him Maſter hardly of any thing but the Imperial City it ſelf. His Poverty was equal to his Security, for it had reduc'd him to the Neceſſity of ſelling the publick Ornaments of the City, and pawning his own Son to ſome Merchants of *Bruges*, for the Support and Maintenance of his State. We may add to all this, that he was a Man of little Courage and leſs Authority, contemn'd as well by the *Latins* as the *Greeks*, all which contributed to the Revolution that immediately follow'd.

The Night appointed by the poor *Greeks* being come, *Alexius* choſe out fifty of his moſt reſolute Soldiers, who, according to the Agreement between 'em, were admitted by their faithful Guides into the City, where having ſlain the Watch, who were in no manner prepar'd for ſuch an Encounter, they forc'd the Gate open, at which *Alexius* enter'd with all his Army, and a little before Day caus'd the City to be fir'd in four ſeveral Places at once, to the great Terror and Amazement of the *Latins*; who concluding the Numbers of their Enemies to be much greater than indeed they were, had no Courage either to extinguiſh the Flames, or oppoſe the *Greeks*, who being join'd by their Countrymen within the Walls, fill'd every Street with Blood and Slaughter. In this general Confuſion the defenceleſs Emperor, perceiving the Hand of Fate againſt him, fled with *Juſtinian*, the *Latin* Patriarch, and ſome other of his Friends, by Sea, firſt to *Eubœa*, and afterwards to *Venice*, quitting the Imperial City to the *Greeks*, after it had been ſixty Years in the Hands of the *Latins*, by whom it was purchas'd with leſs Honour than it was loſt with Infamy. This happen'd in the ſecond Year of the Emperor *Michael Palæologus*, the thirty fifth of *Lewis* IX. of *France*, and forty fifth of *Henry* III. King of *England*, *A. D.* 1261.

He ſurprizes Conſtantinople *and expels the* Latins.

CHAP. VI.

From the Reſtitution of the Empire to the Greeks, *'till the Total Subjection of it by the* Turks *under* Mahomet *the Great.*

Containing the Space of 193 *Years.*

A. D. 1261. THE Reduction of *Conſtantinople* was an Event ſo conſiderable, and at the ſame time ſo little expected by *Palæologus*, that he gave no Credit to him who brought the firſt Expreſs of it; but when frequent Meſſengers arriv'd with Diſpatches to the ſame purpoſe, and he had receiv'd Letters from *Alexius* himſelf, with a particular Account of it, then he entertain'd it with a Satisfaction ſuitable to the Occaſion, and order'd publick Thanks to be return'd to God; in which the Emperor himſelf, the Senate, the Clergy, and the People, aſſiſted with great Solemnity and Devotion.

The Emperor removes with his Court to Conſtantinople.

When this was done, he prepar'd to remove with his whole Court to *Conſtantinople*, and to reſtore the exil'd Majeſty of the ancient *Byzantine* Empire to the Place of its Nativity; accordingly having ſettled his Affairs at *Nice*, he ſet forward with his Empreſs, and *Andronicus* his Son, at that time but two Years of Age, and being arriv'd near the City, he march'd as in ſolemn Proceſſion, and enter'd it on Foot by the Golden Gate, where he again return'd publick Thanks to God; which being ended, he diligently ſurvey'd the Imperial City, and beheld in it the tyrannical Marks of a long and miſerable Captivity. The Magnificent Palaces of his Predeceſſors, the ſtately Dwellings of the greateſt among the *Byzantine* Emperors, lay now in Ruins, neglected and defac'd. Time had devour'd many of the capacious Buildings, and the Fire, and other unavoidable Accidents of War, had deſtroy'd more. Theſe Objects allay'd in the Emperor

peror the Sense of his present good Fortune, and kindled in him a Desire of re-edifying that City, which had been formerly the glorious Mistress of the East.

But neither this nor any other Thoughts could divert him from paying the Honour due to Virtue and Desert; he look'd on *Alexius* as the Restorer and Redeemer of his Country; wherefore having cloath'd him with Robes of Honour, and plac'd a Crown, little inferior to that he wore himself, upon his Head, he order'd him in a solemn and pompous Triumph to be conducted through the City; and made a Decree, that for the Year next ensuing *Alexius*'s Name should be join'd with that of the Emperor in all Hymns, and Prayers of Thanksgiving. And that he might perpetuate the Memory of so great and glorious an Action, he commanded his Statue to be erected on a beautiful Marble Pillar before the great Church of the Holy Apostles, that Posterity might know what *Alexius* had done for the Delivery of his Country.

His next Care was to cleanse the City, and remove from it those Hills of Rubbish which choak'd up the Streets, and lay like Monuments of its Disgrace, and the Triumph of its Enemies; and knowing that, tho' the chief of the *Latins* were gone with their Emperor, yet the greatest part of their Merchants and Artificers remain'd behind, whose Industry might prove beneficial and advantageous to the State, he assign'd unto 'em the City of *Galatia*, now call'd *Pera*, together with several peculiar Privileges, which encourag'd 'em to be easie and chearful under his Government; as for the Imperial City it self, he suffer'd very few to settle in it but what were natural *Greeks*.

which he repeoples with Greek Inhabitants.

Hitherto *Palæologus*'s Reign had been attended with such a Success as might in some measure deserve the Title of Great, which was afterwards conferr'd upon him; and as yet he had done nothing that could blacken his Reputation since his Advancement, but the

the Means by which he had attain'd unto it. But Jealouſie is too often the inſeparable Companion of Uſurpation, as it now appear'd evidently in *Palæologus*; who tho' he had attain'd to a greater Degree of Happineſs than ever he could reaſonably have expected, tho' he was too powerful to fear any Competitor, and reign'd univerſally in the Hearts of his Subjects, yet was he continually awaken'd with Fears and Apprehenſions, forming Dangers where none could ariſe, and dreading thoſe Calamities, his guilty Conſcience ſuggeſted to him he had deſerv'd.

This Temper in *Palæologus* forc'd him upon ſuch Meaſures as very much ſully'd that Character which otherwiſe would have appear'd more beautiful and lovely. *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the late Emperor, had four Daughters, the two eldeſt of whom were married to *Michael*, Deſpot of *Epire*, and *Conſtantine*, King of *Bulgaria*; who having, in the beginning of his Adminiſtration, appear'd diſaffected to him, in his Opinion juſtify'd his Suſpicions: Wherefore he thought it prudent ſo to diſpoſe of the other two, as that they might adminiſter no Cauſe of Diſtruſt to him; accordingly he marry'd 'em to two *Latins*, Men of no Birth or Intereſt, and who conſequently were unable to create him any Trouble. When this was done, the diſtruſtful Uſurper, forgetful of all former Obligations, and an utter Stranger to Nature and Humanity, the better to ſecure to himſelf and his Poſterity the Sovereignty of the Empire, being unwilling or afraid to kill him, cruelly caus'd the young Prince's Eyes to be put out, whom he at firſt had honour'd as his Sovereign, and afterwards reſpected as his Collegue.

He puts out the Eyes of the young Emperor:

This bloody Fact, which *Palæologus* deſign'd for his Security, expos'd him to many Dangers and Calamities: For *Theodora*, Siſter to the young Prince, and the King of *Bulgaria*'s Wife, ceas'd not with her Sighs, her Tears and Prayers, to incite her Husband to Revenge; and he, being ſupported with above twenty

twenty thousand *Tartars*, who lay then upon the *Ister*, broke suddenly into the Emperor's Territories, and over-ran all *Thrace* with so great Violence, that the whole Country was in a manner destroy'd before *Palæologus* could be inform'd of their Preparations. He was at that time engag'd in a War against the Despot of *Epirus* in *Thessaly*, and had unavoidably been taken by the *Bulgarians* as he was returning home, had he not escap'd in a Vessel that accidentally put in to Water, and landed him safe at *Constantinople*; where tho' he publickly presum'd to return Thanks for his Deliverance, yet his late Barbarity had provok'd the Divine Vengeance, and in time involv'd him in such Difficulties as hardly any of his Predecessors had been expos'd to before him.

He look'd on the Prince of *Epire*, and King of *Bulgaria*, as his irreconcilable Enemies; he was no less afraid of *Charles* King of *Sicily*, a Prince of great Power and Reputation, whose Son having marry'd the Daughter of *Baldwin*, late Emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, was continually sollicited by that Prince for his Restoration: He knew how unable he was, without some Foreign Assistance, to oppose these Powers, should they unite against him; and having obtain'd the Empire by indirect unlawful Means, he was every Hour afraid of losing it.

And that nothing might be wanting to aggravate the Discontents of this Emperor, *Arsenius*, the Patriarch, was so worthily incens'd against him for his Treason and Barbarity, that he had the Courage to excommunicate him, and all those who had been his Accomplices in his late Cruelty to the young Prince; and tho' *Palæologus* earnestly petition'd him for several Days together to have the Excommunication taken off, yet the Patriarch persisted with so much Courage, that the Emperor found himself oblig'd to call a Synod of Bishops, where *Arsenius* was summon'd to appear, to answer some pretended Crimes the Emperor had to alledge against him; and when the

For which he is excommunicated by the Patriarch.

the undaunted Prelate refus'd to answer the Summons, he was formally depos'd, and *Germanus*, Arch-Bishop of *Adrianople*, was substituted in his Place; of which in a short time he grew so weary, that he voluntarily resign'd, and made way for the Advancement of another, who prov'd more complaisant to the perplex'd Emperor.

Shortly after this the *Venetians* rigg'd out a powerful Fleet for the Recovery of those Islands in the *Ægean* Sea, which *Palæologus* had seiz'd immediately after the Reduction of *Constantinople*; whereupon a War commenc'd, and was continu'd beween them and the Emperor for several Years together, during which the *Venetians* prevail'd so mightily against him, that had not the *Genoese* been perswaded to assist him, he had been oblig'd to quit the Imperial City, for which the Pope was so offended at the *Genoese*, that he proceeded to an Excommunication against 'em.

and plung'd into innumerable Troubles.

These Difficulties, with which he saw himself surrounded on every side, made *Palæologus* have Recourse to a Remedy which in the End prov'd fatal to him and the Empire, which like an old diseas'd Body hasten'd now to a Dissolution. That he might the better divert those Troubles which threaten'd him from the West, where the Pope, the late Emperor *Baldwin*, the King of *Sicily*, and the *Venetians*, were combin'd against him, he sent his Ambassadors to *Urban* IV. then Pope of *Rome*, offering to submit himself and all his Dominions to the *Latin* Church, provided the Pope would undertake to shelter him from the Storm which seem'd ready to discharge it self upon him. Pursuant to which, in the Council of *Lyons*, which was celebrated in the Year 1276, either in Person, as some have written, or rather by his Ambassadors, he made a formal Submission, admitted the *Latin* Ceremonies into the Churches of *Greece*, and acknowledg'd the Supremacy of the Pope. But when he undertook to introduce and settle this Reformation in his Dominions, *Joseph* the Patriarch quitted his Post, and forsaking

A. D. 1276.

His Innovations in Religion caus'd a Persecution in the Greek Church.

saking the City retir'd into a Monastery near the *Bosphorus*; and the rest of the Clergy, offended at these Innovations, openly inveigh'd against 'em in their Sermons, and put both the City and Country into such a Ferment, that *Palæologus* found he had rais'd such Troubles at home, as were equal or more dangerous than those of which he had been apprehensive from abroad; which provok'd him to proceed with great Severity against those who appear'd the most obstinate, imprisoning some, banishing others, and torturing the rest; whereupon the Refuse of the People ran in great Numbers into *Peloponnesus*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, and even as far as *Colchos*, and where-ever else their Fears drove, or their Humours led 'em; where they disgrac'd that Religion for which they pretended they were persecuted, disagreeing among themselves, adhering some to *Arsenius*, some to *Joseph*, and others, who grew the Heads of Sects, deceiv'd themselves, and deceiving their Followers.

This threw the Empire into a sort of Convulsion, and the Emperor was so incumber'd with his Domestick Troubles, that he had not Leisure to provide for the Tempest arising out of the East, where he suffer'd the *Turks* to gain Ground daily upon him, whilst his whose Care was apply'd to the restraining his Subjects in their due Obedience at home.

And yet, notwithstanding he had in so solemn a manner united himself to the Church of *Rome*, and by the Troubles that ensu'd thereupon seem'd to deserve the Favour and Protection of that See, yet was he, a little before his Death, excommunicated by the Pope, for having contributed to the Massacre in *Sicily*, call'd the *Sicilian Vespers*; to which he was induc'd by his ancient Hatred to *Charles*, King of that Island, and therefore join'd against him with *Peter* of *Arragon*, his Competitor; *Palæologus* thinking all Means lawful that serv'd to disarm an Enemy, and preserve to himself that Authority, the maintaining of which had thrown him upon so many unwarrantable Courses.

A. D. 1281. *He is excommunicated by the Pope.*

At

and dies. At length, broken by Age, and oppress'd with Cares, he finish'd his unhappy Life, and more unfortunate Reign, not far from *Lissmathia*, as he was arming against *John*, the Prince of *Thessaly*, who by his frequent Rebellions and sinister Practices had given him no small Trouble during his Reign. Having ask'd the Name of the Place he was at when first he was taken ill, and receiving for Answer that it was call'd *Pachomium*, he with a deep Sigh declar'd God's Judgments were just against him, for that he had not long before put an innocent Man of that Name to Death, because he had been inform'd that one *Pachomius* was to be his Successor.

His Character. Tho' this Prince was nobly born, tho' he was of a Majestick Presence, an obliging Temper, and a great Encourager of Learning; tho' he was Master of all the Qualities requisite in a compleat Soldier, and finish'd Statesman, yet was he but in one Thing truly happy during the whole Course of his Reign, which was the Recovery of *Constantinople*: In other Matters he was as unhappy as most of his Predecessors, if we consider either his private Troubles or the Calamities he brought upon the Empire; the Divine Vengeance seeming to pursue him with an inflexible Severity, for his execrable Treason and Barbarity. His uncommon Magnificence and Liberality gain'd him at first the Love and Esteem of all his Subjects, but his shameful Submission to the See of *Rome*, and the Persecution that afterwards ensu'd thereupon, render'd him so detested by 'em, that *Andronicus*, his Son and Successor, thought he could not in the beginning of his Reign recommend himself by a more popular Act to his Subjects, than by denying his Father not only those Funeral Honours due to deceas'd Princes, but even the Rites of Christian Burial. It may be said of this Emperor, that as hardly any of his Predecessors involv'd themselves in greater Troubles, so none of them supported 'em with a greater Courage and Presence of Mind, even then enlarging the Borders of his

Dominions

Dominions when he was labouring under almoſt inſuperable Difficulties. *Palæologus* dy'd in the twenty fourth Year of his Reign and fifty eighth of his Age, the thirteenth of *Philip* ſurnam'd the Bold, King of *France*, and the eleventh of *Edward* I. King of *England*, *An. Dom.* 1283.

Michael Palæologus being dead, his eldeſt Son, *Andronicus*, ſucceeded him in the Empire, which he held longer and govern'd more unfortunately than his Father, laying a Foundation in the beginning of his Reign for thoſe innumerable Calamities which befel him afterwards. His Father left two Sons more behind him, the elder of which was call'd *Conſtantine*, and the youngeſt *Theodorus*; *Conſtantine* was furniſh'd with all thoſe Gifts of Nature which beautify a deſerving Prince, and by his courteous obliging Behaviour had render'd himſelf the Darling of the People. This made him better belov'd than his Brother by the late Emperor, who once thought of preferring him to the Succeſſion; and when the Conſideration of Birthright had prevail'd with him to the contrary, he then propos'd to diſmember great part of *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia* from the Empire, and declare him Prince of it with an abſolute independent Authority. This 'tis thought he would have effectually done, had not Death prevented him; however he aſſign'd him ſuch large Revenues as anſwer'd the Greatneſs of his Mind, and enabled him with an unlimited Bounty to oblige his Favourites, Followers aud Dependants; all which concurr'd to render him at firſt ungracious, and afterwards ſuſpected to his Brother. This ill Diſpoſition in the Emperor towards him being obſerv'd by his flattering Courtiers, they endeavour'd to improve it, by repreſenting to him the Dangers he ought to apprehend from a Perſon ſo popular, whoſe great Bounty was a manifeſt Argument of his ambitious Deſigns. *Conſtantine* was then in *Aſia*, where he had in many Battels overthrown the *Turks*, and courageouſly defended the Frontiers of the Empire. This alſo was alledg'd

A. D. 1283. ANDRONICUS II.

alledg'd againſt him by his Enemies at Court, who by their perverſe Inſinuations miſapply'd his Virtues to his Ruin, and by degrees repreſented him ſo dangerous to the Emperor, that *Andronicus* thought it conſiſted with his Safety to paſs over in Perſon into *Aſia*, and oppreſs him before he could be provided for his own Security. This was effected according as the Emperor had deſign'd it, for the unhappy Prince was ſuddenly ſeiz'd, and thrown into Priſon, with all his chief Favourites, among whom was *Michael Strategopulus*, the Son of that famous *Alexius* who recover'd *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins* in the laſt Reign, and was for that Reaſon deſervedly eſteem'd by the late Emperor, a Man inferior to none throughout the Empire for Wealth, Honour and noble Exploits.

Jealous of his Brother.

The Misfortune of theſe brave Men prov'd that of the Empire, for now the Soldiers, having none left to command 'em, neglected their Duty, and left the Frontiers as a Prey to the *Turks*, againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Alexius Philanthropenus* and *Libadarius*, who were to ſupply the Place of his Brother and *Strategopulus*. *Philanthropenus* was then in the Flower of his Youth, and had been a fortunate Captain, but he was vain and ambitious: *Libadarius* was an old experienc'd Soldier, but jealous of his Honour, deſigning and revengeful. Tho' they were both Men of Parts, and fit for the Truſt the Emperor had repos'd in 'em, yet an unhappy Miſunderſtanding that aroſe between 'em prov'd fatal to the Empire. *Libadarius* had the Government of the Cities of *Ionia* committed to him, and the other the Charge of the Frontiers upon the Banks of the *Mæander*, where his frequent and ſucceſsful Engagements with the *Turks* highly improved the Reputation he had before acquir'd in Arms, which ſerv'd only to make him more bountiful and courteous to all thoſe who had Occaſion to apply to him. This made him popular, and inſpir'd him with pernicious Thoughts, which in the Iſſue proved his Deſtruction. He had a good Number of *Candiot* Soldiers

Soldiers that serv'd in his Army, who knowing the aspiring Temper of their General, and hoping to raise their Fortunes by his Advancement, suggested strange Matters to him, and representing to him the jealous Fears of the Emperor, which had been the Destruction of his own Brother and *Strategopulus*, and the private Practices of *Libadarius* against him, perswaded him that it indispensably consisted with his Safety to assume the Imperial Purple; which after several Conflicts with himself, he was prevail'd upon to do. Philanthropenus *usurpi*,

Libadarius, who had a vigilant Eye over him, acquainted the Emperor with his Proceedings, who immediately commanded him to use all possible Means to suppress him, declaring him a Traitor, and setting a Price upon his Head. Had *Alexius* mov'd directly against *Libadarius*, he had in all probability been too strong for him; but he imprudently directed his Arms against *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Brother, who being instructed by his Brother *Constantine*'s Misfortunes, liv'd a private but pleasant Life in *Lydia*, far from the Ambition of the Court, and so unable to have created the Usurper any Diversion. In the mean time *Libadarius*, being supply'd with a considerable Sum of Money which he rais'd in those Parts, recruited his Army, which in time grew more powerful than that of *Alexius*; and when all things were ripe for an Engagement between 'em, he so far prevail'd with the mercenary *Candiots*, to whom he made bountiful Presents, and large Promises of future Preferments, that just as the Battel was joining they deliver'd *Alexius* bound to *Libadarius*, who put out his Eyes, and kept him in Prison, 'till the Emperor's farther Pleasure was known. *and is suppress'd.*

Tho' this prov'd of a most unhappy Consequence to the Empire, as will appear hereafter, yet were other Actions of this Emperor in the Beginning of his Reign no less prejudicial to it. He thought to allay the Troubles of the Church by revoking whatever his

Father had done, and reducing all to the ancient Forms; but they who had before conform'd to the late Emperor's Pleasure, and receiv'd the *Latin* Customs, still defended the same with great Obstinacy against the contrary Faction, who being now countenanc'd by the Emperor, arrogantly insulted those whom they accounted fond of Innovations. This reviv'd the Schism of the Church, and created great Animosities in the State, whilst the *Turks* in the mean time prevail'd on every side, and not only extended their Territories in *Asia*, but conquer'd several of the Islands in the Mediterranean. For *Andronicus*, by an unseasonable Piece of good Husbandry, had discharg'd all his Seamen, who now receiv'd Pay from his Enemies, and laid up his Ships; being perswaded by his flattering Courtiers that the Maintenance of his Fleet created a needless Expence, and that the Money might be apply'd to other Uses of more Benefit to the Publick: By which means the *Turks* grew absolute Masters at Sea, and the Pirates infested the Coasts, to the utter Ruin of Trade and Commerce: So that every thing concurr'd to hasten the Destruction of the Empire, which began now to be unavoidable.

The *Turks* prevailing every Day more and more in *Asia*, the Emperor found it necessary to maintain a strong Army against 'em; but since the Rebellion of *Philanthropenus* he grew so jealous of his own Subjects, that he repos'd a greater Trust in Strangers, whom he encourag'd and entertain'd in his Service, to the great Detriment of the State. Among these was *Ronzerius*, Captain of a strong Body of *Spaniards*, who having serv'd formerly in the Wars between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*, offer'd now his Mercenary Troops to the Emperor, who gladly receiv'd him, and gave him his Niece in Marriage, and shortly after honour'd him with the Title of *Cæsar*, sending him to the Relief of *Philadelphia*, at that time closely besieg'd by the *Turks*. This Service he perform'd with great Success, for besides his own *Spaniards*, he had the best of the *Greek*

Ronzerius a Spaniard.

Soldiers

Soldiers under his Command, and no less than ten thousand *Massageres*, who having been driven from home by their Neighbours, the *European Tartars*, were suffer'd to pass the *Ister* with their Wives and Children, and receiv'd the Emperor's Pay.

When *Ronzerius* had perform'd this considerable Service, and the *Greeks* and *Massageres* were return'd home, he rov'd up and down the Emperor's Territories in *Asia*, which he waited at his Pleasure, and directed his Forces against those he had been sent to relieve, alledging that he was oblig'd to let his Troops live at Discretion, 'till they had receiv'd the great Arrears due to 'em from the Emperor: Upon this Pretence the poor People were barbarously treated every where, the Men were tortur'd 'till they discover'd their hid Treasure, their Wives and Daughters ravish'd, and all was subject to the Rage and Lust of those dissolute Vagabonds; at which the Emperor was highly incens'd, and beheld his Subjects Calamities with an ineffectual Pity, for his Coffers being empty, he was unable to redress 'em.

When *Ronzerius* had thus pillag'd the Territories in *Asia*, and scatter'd Desolation all around him, he return'd with all his Forces into *Europe*, and quartering the rest of his Army at *Callipolis*, he march'd with two hundred of his Men to *Michael*, the Emperor's eldest Son, whom he had lately associated with him in the Empire, lying then at *Orestias* in *Thrace*, to demand his Pay, or rather extort it from him with Threats. *Michael* had been justly provok'd at his Behaviour in *Asia*, and was now so incens'd at his insolent Carriage, that his Guards slew him, and most of his Followers, the rest flying with the News of what had been done to their Fellows at *Callipolis*, who were so enrag'd at the Death of their General, that they first slew all the Citizens, and then fortify'd the City, breathing nothing but Blood and Defiance. *slain by the young Emperor's Orders.*

The Mischiefs that ensu'd hereupon are incredible, for part of 'em manning out eight Galies robbed all

the Merchant-Ships in the Streights, and had reduc'd *Conſtantinople* it ſelf to the laſt Extremity, if they had not been encounter'd and deſtroy'd by a Fleet of *Genoeſe*. In the mean time thoſe who had been left behind in the City, finding themſelves hard preſs'd, and expecting every Moment to be aſſaulted by the young Emperor *Michael*, reſolv'd upon a Thing the moſt fatal that could happen to the Empire, for they call'd the *Turks* into their Aſſiſtance, and, together with them, deſtroy'd all the adjacent Country, bringing in whole Herds of Cattle at a time, together with their Keepers.

The Turks firſt call'd into Europe.

This was the firſt time the *Turks* were call'd into *Europe*, and gave a Beginning to thoſe endleſs Miſeries with which Chriſtendom has been afflicted ever ſince, and is one of the moſt fatally memorable Events that happen'd during this Emperor's Reign.

The Emperor defeated.

Theſe Miſcreants grew at length ſo confident as to venture a pitch'd Battel with the young Emperor *Michael*, which, after he had perform'd in Perſon all that could be expected from an experienc'd Captain and valiant Soldier, having his Horſe ſlain under him, he loſt, and was entirely routed: For the *Maſſagetes*, and ſome other Auxiliaries that were in his Army, upon the firſt Charge retir'd and ſtood at a Diſtance, as idle Spectators. *Michael* himſelf eſcap'd with much Difficulty to *Didymothicum*, where the Emperor then lay, who receiv'd him very graciouſly, but check'd him for expoſing himſelf, and adventuring his Perſon ſo far.

The *Spaniards*, after this Victory, with their continual Inroads infeſted not only the Sea-Coaſts, but the Inland Country of *Thrace*, laying all waſte before 'em. When they had, like Locuſts, devour'd the Fat of the Land, and found it impoſſible for 'em to ſubſiſt any longer in thoſe Parts, perceiving the Emperor had ſhut 'em out of *Macedonia*, where they had lately winter'd, and whither they prepar'd to return, they paſs'd

paſs'd the prodigious Mountains of *Olympus*, *Pelion* and *Oſſa*, and pierc'd into the Plains of *Theſſaly*, and at length, after long Marches and bloody Conflicts, they ſeated themſelves in *Attica*, having brought innumerable Calamities upon the Empire, and firſt taught the *Turks* the Way into *Europe*.

The Turks deſtroy the Emperor's Provinces,

At the ſame time that the *Spaniards* prepar'd to invade *Theſſaly*, thoſe *Turks* ſeparated from 'em, and being then about one thouſand three hundred Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, they offer'd the Emperor to depart quietly home, provided they might be tranſported with all their Subſtance into *Aſia*; to which *Andronicus*, who reflected on the great Miſchiefs they had already done his Provinces, and willing to be eas'd of ſo troubleſome a Burden, readily condeſcended, and gave Orders for their Tranſportation accordingly. But the Imperial Officers and Soldiers, obſerving the great Spoil they had gather'd in the Emperor's Provinces, and were now going to tranſport into *Aſia*, to the eternal Infamy, as they thought, of the *Roman* Name, they undertook a thing neither honourable in it ſelf, *Andronicus* having given his Word to the contrary, nor eaſily to be effected; for, allur'd with the Hopes of ſo rich a Booty, they neither made the neceſſary Proviſions for 'em in their March, nor provided 'em with Ships when they came to the *Helleſpont*, but prepar'd to fall ſuddenly upon 'em, and deſtroy 'em. The Matter was not manag'd with ſo much Secrecy, but the *Turks* had timely Intimation of it, wherefore ſeizing on a ſtrong Caſtle that ſtood in thoſe Parts, they prepar'd vigorouſly to make it good againſt thoſe who had contriv'd their Deſtruction, and ſent immediately over for Aſſiſtance from their Countrymen in *Aſia*, which was accordingly ſent 'em. When this was done they waſted the Country all about by their frequent Excurſions, and grew too powerful for the Officers that commanded in that Country.

When the young Emperor *Michael* was inform'd of these Proceedings he rais'd a ſtrong Army, which encreas'd by Multitudes of Country People, who flock'd to him with their Spades, Mattocks, and other Ruſtick Inſtruments, with which he cloſely beſieg'd 'em. The *Turks* were at firſt ſo terrify'd at his Approach, that they look'd on their Deſtruction as inevitable; but when they beheld the Diſorders of the *Greeks*, who obſerv'd no Diſcipline, but in Confidence of their own Strength had already divided the Spoils of their Enemies, then, having ſecur'd their Wealth and Women, with whatever elſe they judg'd unneceſſary in the Fight, they ſally'd out with no more than eight hundred choſen Horſe, and ſo aſtoniſh'd the unwary *Greeks*, eſpecially the rude undiſciplin'd Boors, that they fled in great Diſorder, and were follow'd by the reſt of the Army, who left the Emperor's Treaſure, the Imperial Enſigns, and all their Baggage behind 'em.

This Defeat reduc'd the Emperor to the laſt Extremity; for the inſolent *Turks* laid all *Thrace* waſte, and grew ſo powerful in that Country, that the Inhabitants for two Years together were confin'd within their wall'd Towns, not daring to ſtir out to Till their Ground, and ſo labour'd under all the Calamities that Divine Juſtice often inflicts upon a guilty Nation. The Emperor in the mean time found himſelf unable to protect 'em, and tho' he earneſtly ſollicited *Crales* Prince of *Servia*, his Son-in-Law, to aſſiſt him, yet that Prince expreſs'd ſo great an Indifference in the Cauſe, that their Miſeries grew inexpreſſible. At length *Philes Palæologus*, a Man nearly related to the Emperor, highly provok'd at the inſolent Barbarities of the *Turks*, deſir'd he might have leave to chaſtiſe 'em. This Man ſeem'd choſen by God himſelf for that purpoſe; he had from his Youth been bred up at Court, and was conſequently a Stranger to the Arts of War, and was moreover of a weak Conſtitution, ſickly, and infirm: On the other hand, he was exem-

exemplarily remarkable for his upright Dealing, and Integrity of Life; and was withal so devout, that he often spent the greatest part of the Day in his Prayers at Church. With these Qualifications *Philes* undertook the Defence of his Country, and having rais'd a small Army he took care in the first Place to establish a good Discipline among his Soldiers, whom he earnestly exhorted to Temperance and Sobriety; he allur'd 'em by frequent Donatives, encourag'd 'em by pathetick Speeches, and us'd all means necessary to prepare 'em for the Service to which they were design'd. When he thought he had modell'd 'em according to his own Desires, he march'd at the Head of this chearful Army against the *Turks*, and encamp'd on a large Plain near a little River call'd *Xerogipsum*, being inform'd that a great Body of the Enemy were to return that way from Foraging. He had not lain here two Days before he receiv'd Advice that the Enemies, laden with Spoil, were approaching, and that, having dispos'd of their Captives and the rich Booty they had taken among their Carriages, they were preparing for an Engagement. *Philes*, having marshall'd his Men, gave the Word, and the Fight began with great Fury on both sides, the *Turks* fighting for the Preservation of what they had been purchasing, and the Christians engaging not only for the Recovery of what they had lost, but for their Religion, their Liberties and future Security. The Christians at first had the Advantage, 'till he who commanded the Right Wing of the Army had his Horse kill'd under him, which forc'd him to retire out of the Battel, to the great Amazement of the Christians, who thereupon began to give Ground to the *Turks* that press'd with redoubled Fury upon 'em. *Philes* in the mean time urg'd his Men to renew the Charge, and with earnest Prayers invok'd the Divine Assistance; as did the Captives, who were divided between Hope and Fear, and lay expecting the Event of the Battel. At length *Philes*, follow'd by the most resolute of his

and are overthrown by Philes Palæologus.

Men, wheel'd about, and in a manner ſurrounded the *Barbarian* Horſe, whilſt the Foot broke in upon the main Body, and put 'em to a ſhameful Rout. The Chriſtians purſu'd their fugitive Enemies to the Entrance of the *Cherſoneſe*, where *Philes* encamp'd, and with five Gallies ſent him by the Emperor, and eight which the *Genoeſe* of *Pera* brought to his Aſſiſtance, kept the *Streights* ſo ſecurely guarded, that 'twas impoſſible for the *Turks* to receive any Aſſiſtance out of *Aſia*. About the ſame time *Philes* his Army was ſtrengthen'd with two thouſand Horſe out of *Servia*, by which means the *Turks* were ſhut up both by Sea and Land, having nothing to recur to but their uſual Valour, and were ſo weaken'd by frequent Actions, that they began utterly to deſpair. Wherefore caſting away their Arms in the dead of Night, and taking with them all their Gold and Silver, which they had in great Plenty among 'em, they made down towards the Sea ſide, with a Deſign of yielding themſelves up to the *Genoeſe*, from whom they expected more Mercy than from the Imperialiſts, becauſe they had never been provok'd by 'em. Notwithſtanding their Precaution, many of 'em, in the Confuſion of the Night, fell unawares among the *Greeks*, who ſlew 'em all without any Compaſſion. The *Genoeſe* kill'd ſuch as brought the Money with them, leſt if they were ſuffer'd to live, they might in time diſcover it to the *Greeks*; the reſt they bound in Chains, ſending ſome to the Emperor, and reſerving thoſe remaining as Slaves for themſelves. By this means *Europe* was for the preſent deliver'd from the *Turks*, to *Philes* his great Commendation, and no leſs Joy of the Emperor.

A. D. 1321. After this the Court enjoy'd a ſhort Repoſe, and the Subjects of the Empire began again to taſte the Delights of Peace; but *Andronicus*, who had been ſo long exercis'd in Foreign Troubles, became involv'd about this time in Domeſtick Embroilments, which purſu'd him to his Grave. *Michael*, his eldeſt Son, who was his Companion in the Empire, had two Sons,

Andro-

Andronicus and *Manuel*, and as many Daughters, the eldeſt of which was marry'd to the Prince of *Epire*, and her Siſter to the Prince of *Bulgaria*. The Prince *Andronicus*, tho' exceedingly belov'd by the old Emperor, was a Youth diſſolute and intractable, provoking both his Father and Grandfather by a thouſand Extravagances to reprove him almoſt every Day. Among other Frolicks, he frequently viſited in the Silence of the Night, a Lady, the Infamy of whoſe Life highly diſgrac'd the Dignity of her Birth, and who being likewiſe admir'd by another Gallant, the Prince imagining him to be the greater Favourite had reſolv'd to remove him, and therefore appointed ſome Ruffians to watch him as he was going to viſit his Miſtreſs, and to diſpatch him. It happen'd that *Manuel*, *Andronicus*'s Brother, went that way that very Night, with little or no Attendance, in queſt of him, and was miſtaken in the Dark by thoſe Murderers, who gave him two or three mortal Wounds, of which he dy'd in a few Days after. This bloody Outrage exceedingly afflicted the old Emperor, who foreſaw, from the preſent Temper of the Prince, what was like to follow; and when the Report of it was brought to his Father, who lay then at *Theſſalonica*, he dy'd of Grief.

Andronicus the younger his diſſolute Practices.

The Sorrow the Emperor conceiv'd at theſe heavy Misfortunes were much improv'd by the Behaviour of the young Prince, who grew every Day more extravagant and dangerous; aſſociating himſelf with Men of factious unruly Spirits, who ſought nothing more than to improve the Diſtempers of the State. Among theſe was *Syrgiannes*, a Man politick and powerful, who having been formerly impriſon'd by the Emperor for ſome ambitious Deſigns, tho' he was now reconcil'd and entruſted by him, yet he preſerv'd in his Memory the Senſe of his Diſgrace, and retain'd a deep Reſentment of it. With him was join'd *John Cantacuzenus*, *Theodorus Synadenus*, and *Alexius Apocaucus*; the two firſt, Men of great Honour and Credit

with

with the Emperor, to whom they had long profeſs'd an inviolable Friendſhip; the other inferior to the reſt in Quality, but equal to 'em in a largeneſs of Underſtanding, and a conſummate Experience in Affairs of State. Theſe Men found the young Prince a Subject proper for their Deſigns, whom they inſpir'd with a Thirſt of Power, and by frequent Remonſtrances endeavour'd to render him diſaffected to his Grand-father. They prevail'd by their Arts ſo effectually upon him, that at length they drew him into an avow'd Rebellion againſt the aged Emperor. *Cantacuzenus*, in the Hiſtory he has left us, endeavours to juſtifie this Proceeding in the young Prince; but he is to be read with Caution, for he is allow'd on all Hands to be notoriouſly partial. If the Emperor deſign'd to deprive him of the Succeſſion, 'twas no more than his licentious Youth had deſerv'd; and no Provocation whatever could juſtifie his taking up Arms againſt his Sovereign. *Cantacuzenus* and *Syrgiannes* had procur'd to themſelves the Government of ſuch Towns and Provinces as they judg'd would be moſt conducive to their Deſigns, where they muſter'd Soldiers, provided Armour, entertain'd Strangers, and appointed thoſe Men to the Government of the Cities, who they knew would be moſt faithful to 'em. All this was colour'd with the popular Pretence of providing for the Security of their Country againſt the Irruptions of the *Tartars*, and the Deſigns of the *Turks*, for which their generous Care they were highly applauded even by the unwary Emperor himſelf; who having heap'd many Obligations upon 'em, thought they could not be ſuch Villains as to betray him. In the mean time the young Prince was privately inform'd of all their Proceedings, and adviſ'd what Meaſures he was to take, that he might underhand act in Conjunction with them.

He is drawn into a Rebellion againſt his Grand-father.

His Faction in the City improv'd every Day, and there were ſome Hot-ſpurs among 'em, that made him entertain Thoughts againſt the very Life of his Grand-father;

father; who perceiving that he was become irreclaimable, reſolv'd, as the laſt Remedy, to reprove him openly before the Patriarch and the chief of the Nobility and Clergy; and if he found he perſiſted ſtill in his Contumacy, then to have him committed to Priſon, and by that means prevent any dangerous Attempts for the future.

Of this the young Prince receiv'd private Information, and therefore when he was ſent for to the Palace, he went attended with a great Number of his Followers and Favourites, who were for the moſt part privately arm'd, between whom it was agreed, that if the Emperor appear'd too ſevere in his Reproofs, or offer'd any Violence to his Grand-ſon, that then upon a Signal given they ſhould ruſh in with their Swords drawn, and having kill'd the Emperor, place the young Prince in the Imperial Seat. When the Patriarch, the Nobility and Clergy were met, and the young *Andronicus* appear'd according to his Summons, the aged Emperor mix'd ſo much of the Father with his grave Reprehenſions, and reprov'd him in ſo tender affectionate a manner, that he drew Tears from all that were preſent, and wrought ſo powerfully upon the Prince himſelf, that he appear'd aſham'd of his Follies, fell at his Grandfather's Feet, who rais'd him with a Kiſs, and promis'd an entire Submiſſion for the future. After which, the Prince having engag'd to attempt nothing hereafter againſt the Emperor, and the Emperor promis'd that he would appoint no other to ſucceed him in the Empire, they both parted with all the viſible Demonſtrations of a ſincere Reconciliation. But when the Prince came out to his Accomplices, who plainly foreſaw that an Union betwixt him and his Grandfather would be their Ruin, they exclaim'd againſt him in moſt bitter Terms, as one who had betray'd his faithful Friends, and expos'd 'em to the Fury of an incens'd Prince, who was become their Enemy for no other Reaſon but their Love and Fidelity to him.

him. Hereupon the Prince, who, among other Matters, had promis'd the Emperor to discover the Names of his evil Counsellors, sent for *Theodorus Metochita*, the Emperor's chief Minister, and instead of performing what he had undertaken, urg'd him to do the same good Offices with the Emperor for them, as he had done before for him; which when that Minister refus'd, but adjur'd him to withdraw himself from the Society of those Men, who having broken their Faith given before to the Emperor, would likewise in time betray him, he thrust him from him with Indignation, and falling in a Moment from his former Resolution, he again suffer'd the old Companions of his Follies to resort to him, and entertain'd the same pernicious Thoughts he had done before: Of which when the Emperor was inform'd, he at length resolv'd to suppress him before he grew too powerful, communicating his Resolutions to none but *Gerasimus* the Patriarch, who instantly inform'd the Prince of it, and he fled with his Accomplices, the Night before he was to have been apprehended, and escap'd to *Adrianople*. *Cantacuzenus* takes no notice of this Treason in the Patriarch, but assigns some other Circumstances, which induc'd the young Prince to fly, whom he takes care on all Occasions to vindicate and excuse.

He flies into Thrace.

It was a fatal Oversight in the Emperor, that he not only suffer'd, but forc'd those Great Men who were of the Prince's Party out of the City, upon Pretence of sending them to their Governments abroad; whereas had he secur'd 'em, as he had just Reason so to do, the young *Andronicus* would not have met with that Assistance he afterwards found from *Syrgiannes*, *Cantacuzenus*, and the rest, who lay with a strong Body of Forces at *Adrianople* ready to receive him.

The old Emperor, being advertis'd of the Prince's Flight, commanded him immediately to be proclaim'd Traitor, proscrib'd him and all his Adherents, and required

quir'd a new Oath of Allegiance from the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*: Whilſt, on the other ſide, the Prince, finding himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, ſo effectually manag'd the leading Men in *Thrace*, that the whole Country in a ſhort time revolted to him; by which means his Forces receiv'd ſo conſiderable an Increaſe, that in a few Days he was able to detach a ſufficient Number of Horſe and Foot, under the Conduct of *Syrgiannes*, who were to attempt *Conſtantinople* before the Emperor had recover'd himſelf, and whilſt the Citizens lay under a general Conſternation. *Syrgiannes* march'd with ſo much Expedition, and the Emperor found himſelf ſo unable to oppoſe him, that he was perſuaded to endeavour at an Accommodation, and therefore ſent *Theoleptus*, Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, a Man of extraordinary Reputation for Wiſdom and Sanctity, to the young Prince, together with *Irene* his Mother, who, like another *Volumnia*, was to deprecate her Son's Indignation, and avert the Storm with which he threaten'd his Country. *Syrgiannes* receiv'd both the Biſhop and his Mother with a Reſpect that was due to the one and the other, and waited on 'em to the young Prince lying at *Oreſtias*; where, after ſeveral Diſputes on both ſides, it was at length agreed, "That the Empire ſhould be divided, "that the Prince ſhould have all *Thrace* from *Chriſtopolis* to *Rhegium*, and the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* "for his Share; that his Followers ſhould enjoy without Moleſtation, ſuch Lands as he had conferr'd upon "'em in *Macedonia*: And that, on the other Hand, "the Emperor ſhould retain all the reſt of the Imperial Dominions, having the Honour of receiving "Ambaſſadors, and treating with Foreign Princes. *Cantacuzenus* ſaith that this Treaty met with many Difficulties, that all the young Prince's Friends diſſuaded him from any Agreement with the Emperor, and that the Army was hardly reſtrain'd from aſſaulting *Conſtantinople*. Certain it is the young Prince's Intereſt was very great, not only in the Army where he was abſolute,

Greg. *which revolts to him.*

An Agreement between the Emperor and the Prince,

absolute, but even in the Imperial City it self, where several Persons of a factious unquiet Spirit were desirous of a Revolution. Thus was the *Roman* Empire, as our Authors still had the Vanity to call it, divided between the two Princes, tho' at that time it contain'd no more in *Europe* than *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, *Attica*, *Beotia*, *Acarnania*, with the Islands in *Peloponnesus*, *Lemnos*, *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and some others. As for the Territories in *Asia*, they were for the most part during these Divisions swallow'd up by the *Turks*, who in the Year 1327 took from the *Romans* the City of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, under the Conduct of *Ottoman*, who about that time took upon himself the Title of Sultan, or King, from which till then he had abstain'd, and laid the Foundation of that stupendous Greatness to which his Successors afterwards attain'd.

This Agreement between the two Princes was of no long Continuance, for *Syrgiannes* observing that, notwithstanding his many Services, and extraordinary Zeal for the young Prince, he had not that Interest in him he expected, but that he was entirely govern'd by *Cantacuzenus*, who rul'd with almost an absolute Authority, he began to consider how he might be reveng'd on the ungrateful Prince, by whom he thought himself so ill rewarded for all his former Services. Wherefore having first by Letters full of Submission prepar'd for his Reception at *Constantinople*, he fled thither, and reconcil'd himself to the Emperor. This renew'd the War on both sides, and brought fresh Troubles upon the Empire; for the Emperor sent his Son *Constantine* by Sea to *Thessalonica*, where he took upon him the Government of *Macedon*, from whence he was order'd to invade the Prince on one side, while *Syrgiannes* at the Head of some *Turks*, who had enter'd themselves into the Emperor's Pay, assaulted him on the other. The Prince, seeing himself in a manner inclos'd, sent *Synadenus* to defend the Frontiers of his Empire towards *Constantinople*, undertaking in Person to encounter or circumvent his

brought to nothing.

his Uncle. *Constantine* in his Passage had seiz'd on *Xene* the Prince's Mother, whom he sent Prisoner to *Constantinople*; at which the Prince was highly exasperated against him, and set a Price upon his Head, promising a great Reward to those who should bring him, alive or dead, into his Presence. At the same time he order'd a Report industriously to be spread abroad of his Grandfather's Death, and some there were who had the Confidence to relate that he was slain in a Tumult at *Constantinople*, of which they were Eye-witnesses. This Report, and the Proscriptions that were out against him, so alarm'd *Constantine*, that he broke up, and retir'd in great Consternation to *Thessalonica*, where he receiv'd Letters from the Emperor, with Orders to apprehend five and twenty of the chief Citizens, and send 'em Prisoners to *Constantinople*. Tho' these Letters were deliver'd with great Secrecy, yet the Persons concern'd receiv'd timely Intimation of the Danger they were in, and stirr'd up the Inhabitants to their Assistance; whereupon the whole City was in an Uproar, and the Mob seizing on *Constantine*, carry'd him Prisoner to the young Prince his Nephew, who with much Difficulty preserv'd him from the Violence of his Soldiers, and saved his Life, tho' he shortly after committed him to a Prison more insupportable than Death it self.

Shortly after this the *Turks*, who serv'd under *Syrgiannes*, being either terrify'd at the young Prince's Success, and the Reputation he had in those Parts, or privately prevail'd upon by him so to do, quitted the Service and retir'd home, at the same time that the Isle of *Lemnos* revolted to him; with which, and his Son's Misfortunes, the Emperor was so touch'd, that he desir'd nothing more than Peace. Wherefore having releas'd *Xene*, he sent her to the young Prince her Son at *Rhegium*, with Proposals for an Accommodation; and that Princess acquitted her self so happily of her Commission, that the Peace was in a few Days restor'd, and her Son went to meet his Grand-

A Peace renew'd.

father

father before the Gates of the City, where there were many high Expreſſions of Duty and Reſpect on the one ſide, and of Tenderneſs and Affection on the other. After which the Prince went frequently into the City to viſit his Grandfather, and an entire Confidence ſeem'd to be eſtabliſh'd between 'em.

How ſincere the young Prince was in his Pacification he made appear by his future Practices, which *Cantacuzenus* endeavours to juſtifie by the Provocations he affirms he receiv'd from his Grandfather. However it were, tho' the old Emperor had granted him all he demanded, tho' he had ſuffer'd him to be crown'd with himſelf in the Temple of St. *Sophia*, and allow'd *Ann* of *Savoy*, whom he had lately marry'd upon the Death of his firſt Wife *Irene*, to be crown'd likewiſe ſhortly after, yet the ambitious Prince, impatient of a Rival, reſolv'd at length to remove his aged Grandfather, that he might reign without a Partner. In order to which he enter'd into a Treaty with *Michael* Prince of *Bulgaria*, his Brother-in-Law, who was to make a Diverſion in *Servia*, if that Prince ſhould move to the Emperor's Aſſiſtance; in Conſideration of which the young *Andronicus* was to pay him a conſiderable Sum of Money, and deliver up to him ſeveral Cities bordering upon his Territories, ſo ſoon as he had recover'd the Empire.

Gregor.

The young Prince takes up Arms again.

When this was done, the Prince ſeiz'd on the publick Revenue in *Thrace*, and being encourag'd by frequent Meſſages from ſome of the principal Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, he march'd towards it, pretending it was to ſee his Ambaſſadors, that he was ſending to the Sultan of *Egypt*, embark with a Retinue ſuitable to their Character, at that Place. In the mean time the old Emperor receiv'd an Information of all Proceedings and Deſigns, from one who, in Deteſtation of ſo foul a Treaſon, had deſerted the young Prince, and fled over to the Grandfather. He thereupon ſent Meſſengers to him, forbidding him to enter the City, accuſing him of manifeſt Treaſons, and his Breach of

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the late Peace so solemnly sworn to, and confirm'd on both sides. After this he sent and desir'd the Assistance of *Crales*, Prince of *Servia*, and gave Orders to his Lieutenants in *Macedonia*, as soon as they had receiv'd the Supplies to be sent 'em by that Prince, to march against the young Emperor; who, on the other side, issu'd out his Edicts in all Parts of the Empire, even in *Constantinople* it self, wherein he proclaim'd a general Release of all Taxes and Impositions, and promis'd an Augmentation of the Soldiers Pay, by which means he exceedingly strengthen'd his Party; and arriving at *Rhegium*, requested by his Ambassadors to the old Emperor, either that he might have Leave to come into the City, according to the League that was between 'em, or that he would send out to him some of the Inhabitants of the greatest Reputation for their Wisdom and Authority, to whom he might freely deliver what he had to offer, both to his Grand-father and the People; at the same time he desir'd the Emperor not to give Credit to those Court-Sycophants, who incens'd him with their malicious Lies and Informations against him. The Emperor was exceedingly perplex'd at this Demand; he knew his Presence in the City, where the People were so generally well inclin'd to him, would endanger a Revolt; and if any were suffer'd to go out to him, he was afraid they in the end would create a Tumult and Sedition, for he was sensible his Grandson would do all he could first to gain them, and by them the rest of the Citizens. However, after some Deliberation, he thought the latter Propasal had the least of Danger in it, so that four and twenty of the principal Inhabitants, to whom some others were join'd afterwards, where dismiss'd to *Rhegium*, to hear what the young Emperor had to say in his own Vindication, and alledge against his Grand-father. These Men were very graciously receiv'd by *Andronicus*, who having first allow'd 'em some time to repose themselves, told 'em in a publick Assembly summon'd for that purpose, *That had not his Grand-father*

Cantac.

ther been prepoſſeſs'd to his Prejudice, there would never have been that Difference there was at that Day between 'em, nor ſhould he have had ſo juſt an Occaſion of Complaint againſt him. Then he proceeded to recount *how carefully he had obſerv'd the Agreement that had been made between 'em, and, on the contrary, in how many things his Grand-father had infring'd it*; in Confirmation of which he produced ſeveral Letters written by the old Emperor to *Crales* Prince of *Servia*, and others, which he had intercepted, and now urg'd as convincing Arguments againſt him. His whole Speech was manag'd with ſo much Art, that they who were ſent in the Emperor's Name to accuſe and reprove him, abſolv'd him in their own private Opinions, and recommended to him the Care of the Publick. After this he diſcours'd with 'em ſeparately in private, and omitted nothing whereby he might gain 'em to be his Advocates, not only with the Emperor, but, what he more earneſtly deſir'd, with the People. Accordingly at their Return they highly commended his generous Behaviour, his Inclinations to Peace, and his Readineſs to comply in any thing reaſonable with the Emperor.

The Behaviour of the People hereupon convinc'd the Emperor how juſt he had been in his Conjectures; for they could not now be reſtrain'd from declaring openly their Inclinations to him, and railing at the preſent Miniſtry, hardly ſparing the unhappy Emperor himſelf; who dreading the tragical Effects of a popular Fury, ſummon'd the Patriarch and the reſt of the Clergy, to conſult with 'em what was to be done in that Exigency. When they were aſſembled he told 'em, *he was ready to quit the Empire, if he could be perſuaded it might be done with his own Safety, and the Good of the Publick; but that he had great Reaſon to diſtruſt both the good Nature and Capacity of the young Emperor, whom he had tenderly lov'd from his Youth, had endeavoar'd to endear him by innumerable Favours and Royal Conceſſions, and yet, notwithſtanding all, he perſiſted in his Obſtinacy and Rebellion: Wherefore he deſir'd 'em, in Deteſtation of his Wickedneſs,*

Wickedneſs, to endeavour to reclaim him by their Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to pronounce him unworthy of the Empire, and exclude him from the Communion of the Faithful. To this moſt of the Biſhops preſent conſented, and agreed that he ſhould be no more nam'd in the Prayers of the Church, 'till he had learn'd to conform himſelf more ſubmiſſively to the Pleaſure of the Emperor. The Patriarch and ſome others, who ſecretly favour'd the young Prince, ſeemingly conſented, but after ſeveral private Meetings among themſelves, the Patriarch ſummoning the People together by the Sound of the Bells, pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all ſuch as preſum'd to omit the Name of the young Emperor in their publick Prayers, or rob'd him of the Honours due to the Imperial Dignity: For which unwarrantable Act, and rebellious Proceedings in the Patriarch, he was, by the Emperor's Order, confin'd to the Monaſtery of *Mangana*.

The Patriarch confined by the old Emperor.

When the young Emperor, lying at *Rhegium*, was inform'd of what had paſs'd by Letters from his Friends in the City, he march'd towards it at the Head of thirteen hundred choice Men, and being come within ſight of the Walls commanded his Army to halt; whilſt he, attended by *Cantacuzenus*, and about thirty Soldiers, rode up to one of the Gates to be admitted, and deſir'd to have a Conference with his Grand-father. They who ſtood as a Guard upon the Walls return'd him no other Anſwer, but that it was the Emperor's Pleaſure he ſhould depart, as abhorring all Converſation with a Rebel and Traitor. Some proceeded yet farther, and having revil'd him with moſt bitter Language, drove him with Stones from the Walls; upon which proteſting his own Innocence, he charg'd his Grand-father with all the Calamities that were to follow, and march'd back with his Army to *Selybria*, a Town upon the *Propontick*, and from thence into *Macedonia*, where his Forces took moſt of the ſtrong Towns and Caſtles, together with the Wives, Children and Treaſure of thoſe who ſtill con-

tinu'd faithful to the old Emperor; they themſelves ſhortly after falling into the ſame Hands, were confin'd to ſeveral Priſons in thoſe Provinces. In the mean time the young Emperor, being advertis'd from his Friends in *Theſſalonica*, that there wanted nothing but his Preſence to reduce the City to his Obedience, the People being generally inclin'd to him, he march'd with great Expedition at the Head of ſuch a Number of his Forces as he judg'd ſufficient for his Purpoſe; and tho' he who commanded for the old Emperor did all he could to preſerve the Place in its Obedience to him, yet he was hardly inform'd of his Approach, before his Friends beheld his Enſigns from the Walls, and forc'd thoſe who were prepar'd to oppoſe him to retire into the Caſtle, out of which the young Emperor, who was immediately receiv'd into the City, drove 'em, after a vigorous Reſiſtance.

Cantac.

who is aſſiſted by the Bulgarians,

This wonderful Progreſs in the young Emperor's Affairs exceedingly perplex'd his Grand-father, who once thought of courting his Grandſon to a Peace, and was preparing his Ambaſſadors accordingly, when he receiv'd a Meſſage from *Michael*, Prince of *Bulgaria*, with Offers of Aid againſt the young Emperor his Nephew, which *Andronicus* readily accepted, and the Matter was tranſacted with ſo much Secrecy, that the Management of it was entruſted to no more than two or three of his moſt experienc'd Friends and Confidents; notwithſtanding which the young Prince had Intimation of it, and having defeated a Body of the Emperor's Forces near the River *Melanes*, he march'd in great haſte towards *Conſtantinople*, to prevent, if poſſible, the coming of the *Bulgarians*: For he was upon juſt Grounds afraid, leſt they, finding the City in a weak defenceleſs Condition, ſhould either kill the old Emperor and ſeize it themſelves, or, what he thought altogether as bad, ſhould bring him ſo powerful an Aſſiſtance, as might enable his Grandfather to keep him out. He ſent a Meſſenger with Letters to the old Emperor, in which he offer'd him all

Παρὰ τὸν Μέλανα Ποταμὸν. Cantac.

all imaginable Submiſſion, told him how much Reaſon he had to fear thoſe foreign Troops, and adviſ'd him to be cautious how he rely'd upon 'em, leſt he put it into their Power to ſubvert the State, and attempt ſomething prejudicial to both their Lives and Dignities. This Remonſtrance came too late, for three thouſand *Bulgarian* Horſe-men were arriv'd, to the great Joy of *Andronicus*, who however remembring what he had formerly ſuffer'd from foreign Troops, admitted no more than the General and ſome of his Friends to come into the City, but quarter'd the reſt in the Suburbs.

When the young Prince ſaw he could not prevail with the Emperor to diſmiſs 'em, he endeavour'd himſelf to draw 'em off, and prevail'd ſo effectually with his Preſents to their General, that they inclin'd to his Propoſals; and after their chief Officers had been magnificenly entertain'd by him they broke up, and return'd into their own Country. *Cantacuzenus* ſaith they were recall'd home by their Prince, who having been ſeverely reprov'd by the young Emperor, for arming his Subjects againſt his Friend and Allie, and hearing that Prince's Army was under the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, iſſu'd out his Orders immediately for their Return. A. D. 1328. *who depart at the young Emperor's Sollicitations,*

The young Emperor, having thus remov'd the *Bulgarians*, was intent upon what other Meaſures he was to take, when two Watch-men of the City fled ſecretly to him, and undertook to betray it into his Hands, provided they receiv'd the Rewards they propos'd for their Encouragement; which being readily granted, and the Hour for the Performance prefix'd, they who were appointed to that Service provided themſelves with Ladders of Ropes, which when the Time appointed came, the Traitors, having firſt made their Companions upon the Watch drunk, drew up about Midnight, and faſten'd to the Top of the Battlements, by which eighteen Soldiers, or rather more, according to *Cantacuzenus*, well arm'd *and he takes Conſtantinople.*

mounted the Wall, and broke open that which was call'd the *Roman* Gate, and ſo open'd an Entrance for the young Emperor, who inſtead of meeting with any Oppoſition from the Inhabitants, was with repeated Acclamations ſaluted Emperor. Tho' *Gregoras* his Hiſtory appears no great Friend to the young Emperor, as having been bred up in his Grand-father's Court, yet upon this Occaſion he highly commends his Moderation and Humanity; he tells us that the Prince, aſcribing the Victory in the firſt place to God, gave ſtrict Orders to all his Officers and Soldiers, at the Peril of their Lives, to abſtain from violating in the leaſt either by Word or Deed the Majeſty of the old Emperor, his Grand-father: And when that unfortunate Prince made him a lamentable Speech, which ſavour'd more of the Calamities to which he was reduc'd, than the Greatneſs of Mind becoming an Emperor, he was ſo touch'd with it, that he hardly abſtain'd from Tears; entring into the Palace he fell at his Feet, embrac'd him, and with Words full of Duty and Affection endeavour'd to comfort him. After this he went and return'd Thanks to God for his Succeſs, and lodg'd in an Apartment near the Imperial Palace, quartering a ſmall Part of his Army in the City, and commanding the reſt to encamp without.

ANDRONICUS III.

Andronicus, having in this manner render'd himſelf Maſter of the Imperial City, was univerſally obey'd as Emperor. His firſt Care was to redreſs thoſe Diſorders that had crept into the State during the Civil Wars, and to reward ſuch as had ſuffer'd on his Account. He recall'd the Patriarch, whom his Grand-father had confin'd, to his former Dignity, and at the ſame time interceded with him in Behalf of thoſe Eccleſiaſticks who had join'd with the late Emperor againſt him; but the offended Prelate, who had ſo often enjoin'd that Goſpel Virtue of Forgiveneſs to others, found it a difficult Task to put it in Practice himſelf.

After

After this the *Bulgarians* began to threaten the Empire with a War, and having form'd a powerful Army made an Irruption into *Thrace*; and the *Romans*, on the other side, carry'd the War into *Bulgania*, which was manag'd for some time with various Success; 'till both Parties at length grown weary, a Peace was once more establish'd between 'em.

The Death of Othoman, first King of the Turks.

Some time before this dy'd *Othoman*, the first King of the *Turks*, who laid the Foundation of the *Turkish* Empire in *Bithynia*, and is said never to have attempted any Town in vain but *Nice* and *Philadelphia*. The Domestick Quarrels among the *Greeks* in his time greatly contributed to his Success, tho' he was a wise, valiant, and generous Prince, but deceitful, designing, and ambitious. His Reign was long and glorious; he dy'd in the Year 1326, when he had liv'd sixty nine Years, and reign'd upwards of twenty eight. Beginning his Conquests with an handful of Vagabond Rebels, he subdu'd many Provinces in the lesser *Asia*, and several Sultans of his Nation, leaving his Son *Orchanes* Master of great Part of *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, to which he afterwards added other Conquests of no less Consideration.

Othoman being dead, the Christians recover'd several Forts and Castles from the *Turks* in *Asia*, in which he had not Time to establish a regular Government before his Death. Of which when *Orchanes* was advertis'd, having secur'd to himself the Succession, and happily compos'd his Affairs at home, he march'd with his Forces against the Christians, and driving 'em out of their late Conquests, invested the City of *Nice*, for the Relief of which the Emperor pass'd over into *Asia*, and engaging with the *Turks*, receiv'd a Defeat from 'em, and was himself wounded in the Foot, which prov'd afterwards the Occasion of a shameful Retreat. For *Orchanes* having in the late Engagement made Trial of the Christians Strength and Courage, left three hundred Horse to watch their Motions, whilst he retir'd farther into the Country with the rest of his Ar-

The Christians defeated by the Turks.

my, to ſeize on ſuch Places from whence he might the better incommode the Enemy, during their March. That Night the Emperor remov'd to a little Town near the Camp call'd *Philocrene*, there to be cured of his Wound; whereupon ſome of the old Emperor's Friends who were then in the Army confidently reported that he was fled, whilſt others proceeded farther, and ſaid he was dead of his Wound. At which the Soldiers, who thought themſelves left as a Prey to the *Turks*, provided every Man for his own Safety; ſo that the three hundred *Turks*, perceiving the ſhameful Flight of the Chriſtians in the Morning, poſſeſs'd themſelves of their Camp, which ſome plunder'd, whilſt others purſu'd their fugitive Enemies, and ſlew great Numbers of them, before they were able to convey themſelves into any Place of Safety. The Emperor ſeeing his Army thus overthrown and broken, as by an inviſible Power, took ſhipping, and return'd in great Anxiety to *Conſtantinople*. The *Turks* took all their Tents, many of their Horſes, among whom were ſome belonging to the Emperor's own Stable, together with his Plate and other Furniture of great Value.

A ſhameful Flight.

A. D. 1329. After this the *Turks* ſeiz'd on many of the Sea-port Towns in *Bithynia*, and rais'd Contributions from the whole Country, once more threatning the City of *Nice*, the Garriſon of which Place the Emperor had upon his Departure promis'd to reinforce with a thouſand Horſe. When *Orchanes* was inform'd of this, he arm'd eight hundred of his own Horſe after the manner of the *Romans*, and fetching a great Compaſs march'd 'em into the high Road that leads from *Conſtantinople*; at the ſame time he detach'd three hundred more, arm'd like *Turks*, whom he order'd to forage and deſtroy the Country as near as they could, and within View of the City, whilſt he with the eight hundred Horſe purſu'd 'em in a hoſtile manner, and put 'em to Flight in ſight of many of the Citizens, who from the Walls beheld the Action. When this was done they march'd directly to *Nice*, where they were

Nice ſurpriz'd by the Turks.

were gladly receiv'd by the Inhabitants, who took 'em for *Romans*; but being got within the Gates, and in an Inſtant join'd by the other three hundred, who were return'd from their pretended Flight, they quickly kill'd the Garriſon, and maſter'd the City.

The young Emperor being in great danger of Death,

The Imperial Miniſters at *Conſtantinople* were about that time in too great a Confuſion to find a Remedy for that unſpeakable Misfortune. The young Emperor had been ſeiz'd with ſo violent a Fit of Sickneſs at *Didymotichum*, occaſion'd by a great Cold he had taken in Bathing, that his Life was deſpair'd of, and all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in the late Revolution conſider'd with Horror the Condition they muſt be reduc'd to in caſe he dy'd, and the old Emperor was reſtor'd to his Power and Authority. The two Hiſtorians, *Gregoras* and *Cantacuzenus*, differ in nothing more throughout their Hiſtories, than the Account they have given us of the Behaviour of thoſe Miniſters upon this Occaſion. *Gregoras* ſaith, that *Cantacuzenus* and the other Favourites were ſo fearful of the old Emperor, tho' now grown blind by Age and Misfortunes, for he had a long time mingled his Drink with Tears, and eaten the Bread of Sorrow, that they firſt thought of putting him to Death, and when they could not all agree upon that, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to force the Habit upon him, and make him become Monk; and that nothing might be wanting to render their Perſecution effectual, *Synadenus*, a Man of all others the moſt diſagreeable to the aged Prince, was choſen to execute this their Will and Pleaſure. *Synadenus* perform'd his Commiſſion with the inexorable Cruelty they deſir'd, and forc'd the unwilling Emperor at once to change his Condition and his Name, impoſing upon him that of *Anthony*. On the other ſide *Cantacuzenus* ſaith, that the Emperor, fearing a ſeverer Uſage from his Proſecutors after the Death of his Nephew, voluntarily renounc'd the World, and took the Habit upon him; adding, That the young Emperor upon his

his Grandfather is forc'd to turn Monk.

Recovery

Recovery was much afflicted at it, as being desirous to restore the Imperial Authority to him, and that in the midst of his Sickness, when he despair'd of a Recovery, he earnestly desir'd to turn Monk himself; which if it be true, 'tis highly probable he was severely sensible of the notorious Injustice he had done his Grand-father, and thought, according to the Superstition of those Times, he might with more Impunity appear in that Habit before the last dreadful Tribunal. Whatever he design'd, he continu'd in the Empire, and his Grandfather dy'd not long after in a Monastery, in the seventy second, or as some will have it, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age, just so many Days after a famous Eclipse of the Sun, which happen'd the thirtieth of *November* before, but did not continue so many, as *Gregoras* would have us imagine, or rather as others have imagin'd for him. He was, in the beginning of his Reign, a slothful unthinking Prince, by which he suffer'd the *Turks* to gain several Advantages over him; nor was he thoroughly awaken'd towards the latter End, tho' continually alarm'd by his domestick Calamities, seldom or never appearing in any great Enterprize himself, but executing all by his Ministers and Lieutenants. The greatest Enemy he had was him whom he had nourish'd in his Bosom, and indulg'd with too much Excess. It is not easie to determine who was the most to be condemn'd, he or his Grandson, since neither *Gregoras* nor *Cantacuzenus* can be consider'd as impartial disinterested Writers. *Gregoras* was mis-led by his blind Obedience to the first, and *Cantacuzenus* by his avow'd Friendship to the latter. Tho' after all, that Man who has any Sense of Duty or Loyalty must conclude, if the one was faulty, the other was inexcusable. *Andronicus* dy'd in the fifth Year of *Philip* the Fair of *France*, the nineteenth of *Lewis* the *Bavarian* Emperor in the West, and seventh of *Edward* the Third of *England*, *A. D.* 1332.

A. D. 1332. *and dies.*

His Character.

In

In the mean time the *Turks* pursu'd their Conquests in *Asia*, and the Emperor found himself so unable to contend with 'em, that by *Cantacuzenus* his Advice a Peace was concluded between the two Princes, by virtue of which the *Turks* were to remain in Possession of all their late Conquests, and leave to the *Romans* the peaceable Enjoyment of what they had not yet wrested from 'em. The *Turks* being by this means render'd Allies to the Empire, readily assisted *Andronicus* in the Recovery of *Mytilene* and *Phocaea* from the *Genoese*, who were by this time grown so powerful at Sea, as to dispute the Empire of it with the *Romans*.

Shortly after the *Thessalians* revolted, and took up so much of this Emperor's Time in the Reduction of them, that the *Turks*, who observ'd the Peace no longer than it conduc'd to their Interest, first made a Descent into *Europe*, with a Design to settle there, without being so warily observ'd as they ought to have been by *Andronicus*; so that during this Emperor's Reign, and that of his Son, they exceedingly enlarg'd their Conquests, and in time left the Emperor no more of the Dominions of his Ancestors than the City of *Constantinople*.

The Emperor was busy'd in these Commotions, and some Disputes in the Church, 'till the time of his Death, which happen'd in the thirteenth Year after the Expulsion of his Grand-father, the ninth after his Death, and forty fifth of his own Age, *A. D.* 1341. He was a Prince condemn'd by the generality of Historians of Ingratitude and Ambition, knowing better how to obtain an Empire by his Artifices, than govern it as he ought when obtain'd. However he is as much to be commended for his extraordinary Friendship to his faithful Servant and Counsellor *Cantacuzenus*, as he is worthily condemn'd for his unnatural Rebellion against his Grand-father, which in some measure may be owing, rather to the Instigation of others, than his own Inclinations. Tho' after the

Andronicus III. *dies.* A. D. 1341.

His Character.

Death

Death of his Father he found himself unavoidably engag'd in the greatest Affairs of State, yet is he said to have been so much addicted to Hunting, and other Rural Exercises, that he constantly maintain'd no less than fifteen hundred Dogs, and above a thousand Hawks, for his own Recreations. Phranz. l. 1. c. 12.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS. The late Emperor had two Sons by his last Wife *Ann*, the eldest of which, call'd *John*, being at his Death little more than nine Years of Age, *Cantacuzenus* was declar'd his Guardian during his Minority, and Protector of the Empire; tho' much against the Will and Approbation of the Patriarch, who thought himself more worthy that honourable Charge, which gave occasion to many Factions in the Court, and introduc'd new Troubles in the Empire. The deceas'd Emperor being bury'd with the usual Solemnity, *Cantacuzenus* earnestly endeavour'd to restrain the great Officers within the Bounds of their Duty, and diligently provided for the Security of the Provinces: But he was in nothing more sedulous than his Court to the Empress, and his Care of the young Emperor and his Brother. Notwithstanding which the Patriarch, who was a proud ambitious Prelate, omitted no Opportunity of rendring him suspected to the Princess, and by that means study'd to make him weary of his Charge. He represented him as a Man of dangerous Designs, who had nothing less than the Imperial Dignity in view, at the same time that he pretended a profound Veneration for the Memory of the deceas'd Prince, and an entire Submission to the Empress and her Children. *Cantacuzenus* either thought the busie Patriarch would prove too great an Obstacle to his secret Designs, or was so sensibly offended at his unjust Calumnies, that he once thought of quitting the State, and retiring to a private Life; nor could the Empress reconcile him to the Court, 'till he had obtain'd a Promise from her, that for the future she would rest fully satisfy'd of his Integrity, and keep her Ears shut to the malicious Informations of his Enemies.

The Patriarch an Enemy to Cantacuzenus,

mies. This the Empreſs readily promis'd, tho' even then thoſe two great Perſons began to entertain mutual Diſtruſts of each other, which gave Birth to thoſe Miſchiefs which follow'd ſhortly after. For the Factions in Court increas'd every Day, and the Patriarch endeavour'd to foment the Diviſions, by recommending ſuch to the Empreſs's Favour and Service, as he knew were diſaffected to *Cantacuzenus*, and would be ready on all Occaſions to engage againſt him. Theſe Perſons continually alarm'd the Princeſs with the Dangers ſhe was to apprehend from the Protector, how careful ſhe ought to be of her own Safety and that of her Children, and with Tears conjur'd her to provide for their mutual Security; till at length they wrought ſo powerfully upon her, who, being a Woman, was naturally timorous and diſtruſtly, that in *Cantacuzenus* his Abſence, who was then at *Didymothicum*, ſhe order'd his Mother and ſome of his deareſt Friends and Relations to be confin'd, and proceeded to a Confiſcation of their Eſtates, behaving her ſelf like one who look'd on *Cantacuzenus* as her mortal Enemy, and left no room for a Reconciliation. She firſt commanded him to reſign his Office, which when he refus'd, ſhe declar'd him an Enemy to the State, and proclaim'd him a Traitor.

occaſions a Civil War.

Cantacuzenus was highly incens'd at theſe Proceedings; and perceiving his Enemies aim'd at nothing leſs than his Life, that a War was unavoidable, and that therefore he ought to provide for his own Defence, he liſten'd to the Perſuaſions of thoſe who told him he would do a great piece of Service to the Publick, and bring the War to a ſpeedy Iſſue, if he ſuffer'd himſelf to be adorn'd with the Imperial Purple. He had at that time with him ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Authority in the Empire, and ſaw himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, which he had rais'd to chaſtiſe the *Servians*, who ſince the Death of the late Emperor had broken the Peace, and infeſted the Borders, and therefore made no doubt but he ſhould be able

Cantacuzenus *declar'd Emperor.*

able to maintain himself in that Dignity, to which his own Ambition did not so much invite him, as the Persecution of his Enemies forc'd him to assume.

When the News of this was brought to *Constantinople*, the Patriarch and his Adherents exceedingly valu'd themselves for their extraordinary Foresight. *Cantacuzenus* his Mother was committed to a more severe Restraint, his Estate was confiscated, and his wealthy Substance apply'd to the Maintenance of that War which now became unavoidable. This is the Account *Cantacuzenus* has given us of this Affair himself, with which other Historians agree in Substance, and rather accuse his Enemies of that Usurpation, to which they forc'd him, than himself.

Cantacuzenus, having thus assum'd the Imperial Ornaments, endeavour'd to vindicate himself from the Aspersion of his Enemies, in a long Speech to the chief of the Nobility and Officers in the Army. He gave such Soldiers Leave to depart as had their Families in the Towns and Cities subject to those against whom he was now engag'd in a War, lest they should be ill treated for his sake, and then proceeded to new model and form the rest of the Army, and prepare for his Defence. *Adrianople* was the first City in those Parts, which refus'd to acknowledge him for Emperor, the Inhabitants of which Place, having laid hold on such as they knew were affected to him, sent 'em bound to *Constantinople*, and call'd the *Bulgarians* in to their Assistance; at whose Approach most of the Cities that had before declar'd for him shifted Parties, and sided with *Palæologus*, which prov'd of great Prejudice to his Affairs. Whereupon, the better to support himself, he enter'd into a Treaty with the *Turks* and *Mysians*, which prov'd of great Use to him in the Course of the War. And that nothing might be wanting to put a Stop to the Miseries of the State, he sent a Letter to *John* the Patriarch full of Christian Exhortations to Peace; but his Messenger was so ill receiv'd at *Constantinople*, that they threw

threw him into Prison, and kept so vigilant an Eye over the Empress, that she had not the Power left to accommodate Matters, tho' upon good Grounds she earnestly desir'd it. Having proceeded thus far, they crown'd the young Emperor with great Pomp at *Constantinople*, and the Patriarch in a solemn Assembly excommunicated *Cantacuzenus*, and all his Adherents. Those of his Relations who had not the good Fortune to escape at the beginning of the War were cruelly murder'd by *Apocauchus*, who had for a long time profes'd an Enmity to *Cantacuzenus*, for no other Reason but because he was a Man of greater Power, and better affected to the State than himself. This Man at first behav'd himself with some Moderation, but when he found the Breach widen'd, and the Faction confirm'd against *Cantacuzenus*, he then pull'd off the Mask, and appear'd at the Head of the Party. That he might show the World what they were to expect from him, he us'd *Cantacuzenus* his Mother with the greatest Barbarity, tho' she was a Woman of Illustrious Birth, and as deserving as any of her Sex. He appointed her Keepers the most dissolute, and void of all Humanity, who were continually railing at her Son in her Hearing during the War; pretending sometimes an Account was brought that he was taken Prisoner, at others that an Express came with Advice of his being kill'd in Fight, that his Head was sent to Court, of which the Villains promis'd to make her a Present. Having by this Usage, and other Cruelties, thrown her into a violent Fever, *Apocauchus* would suffer no Physician to administer to her; and when the Empress, hearing of the Danger she was in, order'd her own Physician to attend her, the Patriarch and his Accomplices, having first terrify'd him with bitter Menaces, made him solemnly swear he would prescribe nothing should do her any good. By these Practices the unhappy Lady dy'd shortly after for want of Help: Of which when the Empress was inform'd, and of the great Miseries she had

His Offers for a Peace rejected; and the young Emperor crown'd at Constantinople. A. D. 1350.

had undergone, she severely reprov'd 'em for their Barbarity, but had not the Power to resent it as she ought, for they govern'd all with an absolute Authority; and when by her repeated Importunities she would have forc'd 'em to send to *Cantacuzenus*, and make some Overtures for an Accommodation, they dispatch'd Creatures of their own, who returning, reported *Cantacuzenus* was so far from listning to any Terms for a Peace, that he had declar'd, if he prevail'd in the War he would punish the Empress and her Children indeed no farther than by putting 'em immediately to Death; but as for the Patriarch and his Associates, he would first have 'em whip'd like Vagabonds round his Camp, and when he had loaden 'em with all the Indignities his Wrongs could suggest, he would then make 'em end their Days under most insufferable Torments. By this Device they were able to justifie the War which they prosecuted with so much Vigour; and *Apocauchus* having made *Andronicus* and *Thomas Palæologi* Generals of the Land-Forces, at a prodigious Expence, mann'd out a Fleet of sixty Ships, the Command of which he took upon himself, and very much embarrass'd *Cantacuzenus* his Affairs, for he prevented his Reception into *Thessalonica*, where *Cantacuzenus* had a Party that endeavour'd to betray the Town into his Hands, and frighten'd others from expressing their Affections to him. After this the *Zealots*, for so our Author calls those that continu'd firm to the young Emperor *Palæologus*, prevail'd on every side, and *Cantacuzenus* was reduc'd to the last Extremity, and forc'd to fly to *Crales*, Prince of the lower *Mysia*, for Aid, who receiv'd him with much Honour, admir'd him for the Greatness of his Soul, and Patience in his Calamities, and gave him the Assistance he desir'd; after which his Party recover'd Strength, and the Heads of the contrary Faction were greatly discourag'd; this made way for Proposals for a Peace, to which *Cantacuzenus* always declar'd himself well inclin'd, and once offer'd to

Cantac.

quit

quit the Imperial Purple upon ſuch Conditions as they ought gladly to have embrac'd, had not their own Guilt and Enmity to him out-weigh'd all other Conſiderations.

After this he gain'd ſeveral other extraordinary Advantages over 'em, and grew in time ſo conſiderable, that *Orchanes*, the *Turkiſh* Sultan, deſir'd his Daughter in Marriage, to which after ſome Deliberation *Cantacuzenus* condeſcended, which ty'd the *Turks* firmer to his Service, and render'd him more terrible to his Enemies. In the mean time the Chief of the *Zealots*, perceiving they were unable to ſuppreſs him by open Force, had Recourſe to Treachery, and prevail'd with *Monomachus*, a *Conſtantinopolitan*, who upon the Aſſurance of a conſiderable Reward undertook to Poiſon him. Accordingly he went to *Cantacuzenus*, lying then at *Selybria*, and with a feign'd Compunction confeſs'd what he had undertaken againſt him, but that being touch'd with the Horror of the Fact, he came to aſſure him his Life for the future ſhould be as dear to him as his own; and to manifeſt the Truth of what he aſſerted, he produc'd the Poiſon he was to have adminiſter'd to him. *Cantacuzenus* was highly pleas'd at the Freeneſs of his Confeſſion, and gave him ſeveral rich Preſents, to encourage him to be his Friend for the future. By this means *Monomachus* obtain'd ſuch a degree of his Favour and Truſt, that he had infallibly poiſon'd him with another Drug conceal'd for that purpoſe, had not *Cantacuzenus* his Friends at *Conſtantinople* privately advertis'd him of the Danger he was in.

Orchanes *the* Turk *marries* Cantacuzenus *his Daughter.*

Cantacuzenus having thus narrowly eſcap'd the Snare, was inform'd not longer after that ſeveral of his Friends were contriving how to admit him into *Conſtantinople*, among whom were ſome of thoſe who had join'd with the *Zealots*, and acted with the greateſt Vigour againſt him, but perceiving the Heads of the Party had private ſiniſter Deſigns in all they did, that they were no longer able to carry on the War effectu-

A. D. 1347.

ally againſt *Cantacuzenus*, and yet would by no means be perſuaded to embrace a Peace, they thought the readieſt way to put an End to the Calamities of their Country, was to aboliſh the Authority of thoſe Men, which would quickly determine if *Cantacuzenus* could be receiv'd for Emperor in *Conſtantinople*; for by this time moſt of the other Cities, which had not yet been conquer'd by the *Turks*, had ſubmitted to him. Wherefore they diſpatch'd a Perſon, who for his Experience and Fidelity was fit to be entruſted with a Buſineſs of that Moment, who inform'd *Cantacuzenus* of what was in Agitation within the City for his Service, and inſtructed him how he was to aſſiſt his Friends, by a Conformity to their Deſigns without; and he, when he had been ſufficiently inſtructed by that faithful Agent, broke up from *Selybria*, and retir'd to *Adrianople*, that thoſe of the contrary Faction might have no Cauſe to ſuſpect what was tranſacting among 'em in his Behalf. It happen'd about the ſame time that the *Zealots* were at Variance among themſelves, which may chiefly be attributed to the cruel imperious Humour of the Patriarch, by which he had diſoblig'd the Empreſs her ſelf, whoſe Zeal for the Peace and Welfare of the Church was upon all Occaſions very remarkable, eſpecially at this time, when ſeveral Diſorders had crept into it, during theſe popular Tumults and Civil Combuſtions. Whereupon the Empreſs ſummon'd a Synod of Biſhops, in order to enquire into the Patriarch's Conduct, and call him to an Account for his late illegal and tyrannical Proceedings againſt the Biſhops and Monks. 'Twas in that Conjuncture that the Empreſs was inform'd of *Cantacuzenus* his Deſigns upon the City, to which ſhe gave little Credit, as conceiving 'twas only a Report rais'd by the Patriarch's Friends on Purpoſe to defeat the Inquiſition form'd againſt him. This contributed very much to *Cantacuzenus* his Admiſſion, and he was receiv'd by his Friends at the Time appointed, who in the Night forc'd open one of the Gates, and, being ſhortly after

Cantacuzenus receiv'd into Conſtantinople.

join'd

join'd by the Generality of the People, with an universal Shout saluted him Emperor. The Empress at first secur'd her self very strongly in the Palace, and refus'd to admit of any Accommodation, 'till the young Emperor himself, who had an Understanding uncommon to one of his Years, perceiving that they who pretended to be his Friends and Protectors disagreed among themselves, and that neither he nor his Mother could long be safe from the Fury of the Mob, if they did not comply, earnestly entreated her to trust to the Generosity of *Cantacuzenus*, rather than expose her self to the incens'd Multitude; whereupon both sides came to an Agreement, by virtue of which *Cantacuzenus* was confirm'd *Palæologus* his Collegue in the Empire, and had the sole Administration of Affairs conferr'd upon him for ten Years, the young Emperor being then but fifteen Years of Age, after which he was to be equal in Authority with him. An Act of Oblivion pass'd on all sides, and they both agreed to be common Fathers of their People.

A Peace concluded.

This happy Agreement put an end to a War which had rag'd for five Years within the Bowels of what remain'd to the *Roman* Empire, occasion'd the Loss of much Blood and Treasure, and gave the *Turks* an Opportunity in the mean time of settling themselves in *Europe*, and laid the Foundation of those unexpressible Calamities, with which all Christendom at length was visited.

Cantacuzenus, having been formerly crown'd at *Adrianople*, was again crown'd with much Solemnity by the Hands of *Isidore*, the new Patriarch of *Constantinople*. And to the end a perfect Union might be settled between him and the House of the *Palæologi*, he gave his Daughter *Helena* within a few Days after to the young Emperor, and order'd her to be crown'd likewise. Tho' he did all that his long Experience and Conversation in the Affairs of State could suggest to him, for the Establishment of himself and his Family in the Authority, to which with so much Difficulty he

The young Emperor marries Cantacuzenus *his Daughter.*

he had attain'd, yet the Cares of illegal Power ſate heavy upon him, and at length entirely oppreſs'd him. During the late War he had been extraordinarily aſſiſted by *Orchanes* the *Turk*, who had a high eſteem for him, had marry'd one of his Daughters, and now came to viſit him. This ſtrict Alliance, and unuſual Intimacy between two Princes of a different Faith, appear'd very ſcandalous to the Pope, and other Chriſtian Princes: At this *Cantacuzenus* was much concern'd, and by his Ambaſſadors ſent to *Clement* VI. at that time Biſhop of *Rome*, made ſo handſom an Excuſe, ſhow'd himſelf ſo ready to engage in a War againſt the Infidels, and willing to reconcile himſelf to the *Romiſh* Communion, that the Pope highly commended him, and ſeem'd entirely ſatisfy'd with his Conduct. About this time he fell dangerouſly ill at *Didymothicum*, and the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, having frequently deſir'd to enlarge their City, and been as often repuls'd, upon Suſpicion that their chief Deſign was, under that Pretence, to ſecure themſelves by a Wall, and defie the Emperor's Subjects, for whom they were already too ſtrong at Sea, took this Opportunity, and having ſet Fire to ſeveral Buildings in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, they ſeiz'd on all the Emperor's Ships that rode then in the Harbour; after which they gain'd ſeveral Advantages over him at Sea, and in the end prov'd the moſt dangerous Enemies *Cantacuzenus* had to contend withal. For ſhortly after the young Emperor, who was retir'd with his Mother to *Conſtantinople*, began to liſten to the Inſinuations of thoſe about him, who repreſented to him *the inſatiable Ambition of* Cantacuzenus, *who, having left him no more than the Name of Emperor, and uſurp'd the Supream Power to himſelf, was now labouring to tranſmit it down to his Poſterity.* They bid him *reflect on his preſent Condition, how he liv'd like an Exile, expos'd either to the Incurſions of the* Barbarians, *who in a manner had all* Thrace *at their Devotions, or the Dangers of popular Inſurrections.* They advis'd him *to remember he was an Emperor, and to aſſert the Honour of his Houſe*; concluding

The young Emperor perſuaded to renew the War.

that

that *the longer he ſate patient under his Injuries, the more inſupportable they would grow, and the leſs unable would he be to remove 'em.*

These Men had undertaken this Office at the Inſtigation of *Crales*, who having broken the League concluded betwixt him and *Cantacuzenus*, had entertain'd an irreconcileable Averſion to him, and promis'd theſe his Penſioners in the young Emperor's Court liberal Rewards, if by their Artifices they could renew the War between the two Princes; and *Palæologus*, whoſe native Simplicity and incorrupted Innocence made him judge of other Mens Integrity by his own, was too eaſily ſeduc'd by their crafty Inſinuations. The principal Actors in this Affair were Men who heretofore had profeſs'd an inviolable Friendſhip to *Cantacuzenus*, which obtain'd 'em the eaſier Credit with the young Emperor, who upon that Conſideration highly applauded 'em for their Loyalty to him. This Diſaffection in *Palæologus* broke out ſhortly after into an open War, which was not throughly extinguiſh'd, 'till the young Emperor, aſſiſted by the *Genoeſe*, *Cantacuzenus* his inveterate Enemies, had forc'd his Father-in-Law to quit the Imperial Dignity, which he did generouſly, and retire into a Monaſtery at the Foot of the Mountain *Athos*, where he took the Habit, and liv'd for ſeveral Years remov'd from the Noiſe and Vexations of the World, leaving behind him the Hiſtory of his own Times, yielding in Beauty to none of the modern *Greeks*; tho' having had ſo large a Share in the Affairs of that Age himſelf, it is not to be wonder'd at if ſometimes he diſguis'd the Truth.

Can'acuzenus *turns Monk.* A. D. 1355.

He was undoubtedly a Man of a great Capacity, and unweary'd Application to publick Affairs, but had more of the Stateſman than the Chriſtian in him; as appears by his Alliance with the *Turks*, the profeſs'd Enemies to Chriſtianity, who, according to the Hiſtorians of that Nation, firſt ſettled themſelves in *Europe* during the Diſputes between him and his Pupil *Palæologus*. He had a great Command over his Paſſions, and knew

how to accommodate himself upon all Occasions. His Wars were many, and for the most part fortunate, tho' not always just and honourable. By his Writings it appears that he knew how to render himself considerable either in a publick or private Life, and that he lost nothing of the Greatness of his Mind in his Retirement.

John Palæologus having thus remov'd his Competitor liberally rewarded the *Genoese*, who had been his great Friends and Confederates, marrying his Sister to *Catelusius*, or *Gateluz*, their General, and confirming 'em in the Possession of the Isle of *Lesbos*, to which they laid some Pretensions, and made good whatever else had been at first concerted and agreed between 'em.

The Turks first Settlement in Europe.

About this time dy'd *Orchanes*, the second King of the *Turks*, whose Son *Solyman*, a generous, valiant Prince, laid the first Foundations of their future Empire in *Europe*, seizing first on *Coiridocastron*, a small Castle but strongly situated, and pursu'd his Designs with so good Success that having spoil'd the *Thracian Chersonese*, he at length seiz'd on *Gallipolis*, which he garrison'd with a strong Body of *Turks*, who there form'd their Preparations for their future Conquests; but *Solyman*'s Death, which happen'd not long after, hasten'd that of his Father, who dy'd in the Year 1356, and left his Son *Amurath* for his Successor, who passing with a strong Army over into *Europe*, and landing at *Gallipolis*, march'd from thence and took in most of the Towns of Consequence in that Part of *Thrace*, call'd at present *Rumilia*, and at length conquer'd *Adrianople* it self. Having thus with a prodigious Progress in a manner master'd all *Thrace*, he made *Adrianople* the Seat of his Empire in *Europe*, as the most proper for his farther Invasions, and the Enlargement of his Dominions. *Palæologus*, in the mean time, was so far from attempting to oppose this victorious Invader, that he was glad at last to receive a Peace from him, whilst *Amurath* in the Pride of his Prosperity consider'd the *Greek* Emperor as little other than his Vassal, as it appear'd

pear'd at length by his Behaviour to him. For *Andronicus*, the Emperor's eldeſt Son, having contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Saux*, one of *Amurath*'s Sons, and being both impatient of Subjection, and ambitious above meaſure, they mutually conſpir'd the Death of their Fathers, as the only Means to ſecure and haſten their own Advancement. When this was diſcover'd to *Amurath*, he, after diligent enquiry into the Matter, and plain Proof made againſt 'em, order'd his own Son's Eyes to be pluck'd out, and by Letters requir'd the Emperor to inflict the ſame Puniſhment on his Son, threatning if he refus'd to oblige him to it by Force; with which the Emperor was ſo terrify'd, that he inſtantly obey'd, either for that he conſider'd he was unable to withſtand *Amurath*'s Forces, and therefore thought it imprudent to provoke him; or that he was afraid of a War, which of Neceſſity would divert him from his uſual Intemperance: For the Hiſtorian repreſents him as a Prince ſtupid and unactive, applying all his Time to amorous Amuſements, and glorying more in the Conqueſt of a beautiful Woman, than the Defence of his Subjects and the Security of the State. *Andronicus*, together with his Son an Infant, being thus blinded by ſcalding Vinegar, was by the Emperor's Order thrown into Priſon, where he continu'd for two Years, at the end of which he made his Eſcape, and by the Aſſiſtance, as ſome ſay, of *Amurath* himſelf, but more probably, according to others, of the *Geneoſe* in *Galata*, he rais'd a War againſt his Father, whom he overthrew, and having forc'd his Way into *Conſtantinople*, caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd Emperor, and threw his Father and two Brothers, *Manuel* and *Theodorus*, into Priſon; where they likewiſe continu'd for two Years, and then found means of eſcaping to *Scutari*: Of which when *Andronicus* was inform'd, that Prince, abhorring the Calamities of a Civil War, under which the *Romans* had ſo lately groan'd, and of which he would now be eſteem'd the Author, ſent for his Ducas.

Father, and having receiv'd from him an Oath for his own Security, reſtor'd him to his Throne, and retir'd with his Wife and Son to *Selybria*, where the Emperor ſuffer'd him to reſide in Safety, and allow'd him a reaſonable Revenue for his Maintenance. Others ſay *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his Brother, made his Eſcape to *Bajazet*, who had lately ſucceeded his Father, with whom he contracted to hold the Empire as tributary to him, provided he would expel his Brother, and confirm him in the Succeſſion. This is contradicted as well by thoſe who make *Amurath* to have receiv'd *John Palæologus*, as by *Ducas*, from whom we learn that he dy'd ſome time before him, and that *Bajazet* held ſo hard a Hand over him, and impos'd ſuch diſhonourable Conditions upon him, that the helpleſs Emperor, who had a long time been afflicted with the Gout, which his diſorderly Life had brought upon him, dy'd thro' Grief, leaving no Son living behind him but *Manuel*, who was then in *Bajazet*'s Court. The Truth is, the Accounts we have of the few following Emperors, and their Actions, are like the Words of dying Men, broken and imperfect, as if they ſympathiz'd with the preſent Condition of the Empire, which began now to labour under its laſt Agonies.

The Death of John Palæologus.

A. D. 1387.

MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS.

Manuel hearing of his Father's Death, poſted away immediately for *Conſtantinople*, without his taking Leave of *Bajazet*, or acquainting him with the Reaſons that call'd him ſo haſtily away: Of which when the Tyrant was inform'd, he ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe Officers that ſuffer'd him to eſcape, and paſſing with great Expedition out of *Bithynia* into *Thrace*, he deſtroy'd all the Cities and Towns adjoining to *Conſtantinople*; and having over-ran all *Theſſaly*, *Macedon*, and *Bulgaria*, he ſat down before the Imperial City, which he cloſely beſieg'd both by Sea and Land. This Torrent of Succeſs provok'd the Chriſtian Princes in the Weſt to enter into a League againſt him, and *Sigiſmond* King of *Hungaria* paſs'd the *Danube* at the Head of

Conſtantinople beſieg'd by Bajazet.

more

more than one hundred and thirty thousand Men, and falling into the *Turkish* Dominions, recover'd *Vidine*, with other Places of Consequence in *Bulgaria*, after which they laid close Siege to *Nicopolis*. When *Bajazet* was inform'd of this, and the Danger *Nicopolis* was in, he instantly rais'd the Siege, and having join'd all his Forces, march'd with wonderful Expedition, and gave the Christians Battel, killing or taking Prisoners most of that numerous Army, and then return'd to renew the Siege of *Constantinople*. When he had lain before it for some time, and perceiv'd that tho' the Citizens labour'd under all the Difficulties which usually attend a Siege, they continu'd resolute to hold it out to the last, he hop'd to master the Town by sowing Sedition among the Inhabitants. *John*, the Son of *Andronicus*, of whom we had Occasion to make mention before, still resided at *Selybria*, whom *Bajazet* thought a proper Instrument, if he could make him subservient to his Designs. Wherefore having enter'd into a private Agreement with him, he declar'd him Emperor, as being the Son of *Andronicus*, *Manuel*'s eldest Brother, proposing to the *Constantinopolitans*, that provided they would drive *Manuel* out of the City, and receive his Nephew *John*, he would then withdraw his Army, and abstain from all Hostilities. This created a Division among the Inhabitants, who began to murmur and complain of the Hardships they suffer'd; which when *Manuel* observ'd, and that some demanded in high Terms for the Admission of *John*, he writ to his Nephew, being at that time in the *Turkish* Camp, and promis'd to open the Gates, and relinquish the Sovereignty to him, upon Condition he might have Liberty to depart with his Wife and two Sons, and be transported in a Vessel provided for that purpose to whatever Place he should think fit; for being a Prince of a tender compassionate Temper, he thought it prudent to give way to Necessity, and for the present ease his Subjects of the Calamities under which they groan'd, and leave the rest to Providence,

His Designs upon the City

dence, concluding that he might be better able to provide for the Safety of the City, which he saw ready to be devour'd by the *Turks*, in his Absence, than if he staid in Person to defend it. Wherefore having receiv'd the Security he expected from *John*, he resign'd the Imperial Crown to him, and departed first to *Venice*, and from thence to several other Courts in *Europe*, to sollicit Aid against the *Turks*, whose growing Power began now to be a Terror to all Christendom.

John, among other Things, had agreed to resign *Constantinople* to *Bajazet*, in Consideration whereof he was to have *Peloponnesus* granted to him with an independent Authority, and a perpetual Peace was concluded between him and the *Turks*. When *Manuel* was departed, and *Bajazet* sent to demand a Performance of this Agreement from *John*, the Citizens of *Constantinople*, who had in the mean time receiv'd a seasonable Supply of Provisions and other Necessaries, absolutely refus'd to comply; whereupon *Bajazet* prepar'd to force 'em to a Submission, when he receiv'd Advice that *Tamerlane*, the victorious *Tartarian*, was threat-
A. D. ning his Dominions in *Asia* with an Invasion. For the
1402. Princes of *Asia*, being provok'd at *Bajazet*'s Cruelties, with which he had render'd himself detestable to all
baffled by Mankind, apply'd themselves to *Tamerlane* for a Re-
Tamerlane the Tartar, dress; and that Prince having conquer'd *Parthia*, and made all the East to tremble, turn'd his Arms against *Bajazet*, and was now breaking into *Syria*, which diverted the Tyrant from his intended Designs against *Constantinople*, and call'd him to the Security of his own Dominions. Wherefore transporting himself with all Expedition to *Prusa*, he there muster'd his Forces, which were drawn thither in prodigious Numbers, as well out of the East as West; with these he march'd against *Tamerlane*, who gave him Battel in the Plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, on *Friday*, *July* 28, 1402; and ha-
who defeats him. ving taken him Prisoner, led him through his Army on a Mule, as a Punishment for his excessive Pride, and then confin'd him like a wild Beast in a Cage, against

which

which he dash'd his Brains out the Year following; teaching all arrogant tyrannical Princes, how vainly they pride themselves in the Confidence of their own Strength, and how much the Hand of Fate is above 'em. *The Death of Bajazet.*

When *Manuel* the Emperor, who lay then at *Methone*, was inform'd of the Death of *Bajazet*, who fell sudden, as a Star seems to shoot from the Firmament, he remov'd from thence and return'd to *Constantinople*, where he was receiv'd with the universal Acclamations of the People, who being offended at *John*'s servile Compliance with the *Turks*, thrust him from the Empire, and restor'd his Uncle.

Manuel, immediately upon his Restoration, hearing *Tamerlane* was coming to *Prusa*, the Seat Royal of the *Othoman* Princes in *Asia*, and Repository of their immense Treasures, the Spoils of almost half the Earth, he sent his Ambassadors to wait his coming, and in his Name to thank him for the mighty Deliverance he had receiv'd by his means, and offer'd to subject himself and all his Dominions to his Deliverer and Protector. *Tamerlane* at his Arrival receiv'd the Ambassadors very graciously, but refus'd the Present, declaring he came not so far to Conquer, but to Restore, and that he desir'd no other Reward for the Service he had the Happiness to do their Master, but to be remember'd with Honour for it by Posterity. After this these two Princes mutually visited each other at *Prusa* and *Constantinople*, where all the Expressions of Love, Friendship, Gratitude, and Respect pass'd between 'em.

This great Overthrow of the *Turks* had like to have produc'd a total Dissolution of their Kingdom, both in *Asia* and *Europe*; for besides those Provinces which fell into the Hands of *Tamerlane* and his Captains, the rest were dismember'd by several Competitors, who laid Claim to the Sovereignty; and tho' *Mahomet*, the first of that Name, was at length acknowledg'd King, yet his other Brothers, the Sons of *Bajazet*, pretending separately an equal Right to what all would enjoy, *The distracted Condition of the Turks Affairs.*

the

the War was continu'd with great Fury between 'em for ten Years together, during which *Manuel* the Emperor had time to breathe, and give ſome Eaſe to his diſtemper'd State, and ſo wiſely manag'd the Diviſions between the *Turks*, that they made their Court by Turns to him, and gave him ſeveral Advantages. And tho' *Mahomet*, after much Blood ſhed on all ſides, and the Death of his Brothers, *Iſa*, *Solyman*, and *Muſa*, who loſt their Lives in the Quarrel, made himſelf ſole Monarch of the *Turks*, and at his Death left it to his Son *Amurath*; yet *Manuel*, aſſiſted by other Princes of his Nation, ſupported an Impoſtor that call'd himſelf *Muſtapha* the Son of *Bajazet*, who had been ſlain many Years before in the Wars with *Tamerlane*, by which means he was able to maintain his Quarrel for a conſiderable time, and gave no ſmall Trouble to *Amurath*; at which that haughty Prince was ſo provok'd, that having after much Difficulty ſuppreſs'd the Impoſtor, he in Revenge of the Affront laid cloſe Siege to *Conſtantinople*; and the Emperor, to divert the Tyrant, in Conjunction with the King of *Caramania*, whoſe Sons had marry'd three of *Amurath*'s Siſters, countenanc'd another *Muſtapha*, ſirnam'd the Little, his younger Brother, who beſieging *Nice*, took it, together with ſeveral other Places in *Aſia*, whither *Amurath* was forc'd to paſs over to oppoſe him.

A. D. 1417, *or* 1419.

The Death of Manuel.

Shortly after this *Manuel* the Emperor dy'd, after a Reign of thirty Years, during which he had been Witneſs of many Revolutions, and ſtruggled under a multitude of Difficulties, but at length enjoy'd a Tranquility, whilſt his Neighbours were engag'd in Wars round about him. Towards the latter end of his Reign he was ſo broken with Age, that the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs was committed to his Son *John*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire.

His Character.

From the ſmall Account left us of this Emperor, we find that he was patient in Adverſity, and humble in Proſperity, exceeding grateful to his Friends, and no leſs generous to his Enemies, whenever they fell into his

his Power. He was both a prudent and politick Prince, and like a skilful Phyſician at leaſt mitigated the Rigour of that Diſeaſe, which it was not in the Power of Art to cure. Some ſay he reſign'd the Empire to his Son *John Palæologus* in 1419, and aſſuming the Name of *Anthony*, took upon him the Religious Habit, living in a Monaſtery 'till the Year 1425. Onuphr.

JOHN VI. *John* VI. ſurnamed *Palæologus*, found the *Turks* ſo powerful, that he was glad to accept of ſuch a Peace as *Amurath* would condeſcend to give him: He not only quitted to him all the Towns lying upon the *Pontic*, *Meſembria*, *Derci*, and a few others which were able to withſtand the Force of the Conqueror's Arms excepted, but engag'd to pay him a Tribute of three hundred thouſand Aſpers yearly; a great Price for the peaceable Enjoyment of the poor Remains of the *Roman* Empire, which now contain'd little more than *Conſtantinople* it ſelf.

Manuel, the late Emperor, had two Sons beſides *John*, the Elder of which was call'd *Theodorus*, who dy'd of the Plague, and the other *Andronicus*, whom he had made Governor or Deſpot of *Theſſalonica*, to which *Amurath* laid Claim, as having been formerly conquer'd by *Bajazet*; after whoſe Death it relaps'd again to the former Proprietors; who perceiving they were not able to maintain it againſt the invincible Power of the *Othomans*, deliver'd it up to the *Venetians*, which occaſion'd a long expenſive War betwixt them and the *Turks*, 'till in the end *Amurath* took it by Storm, in the Year 1429, or 1431, having firſt promis'd his Soldiers the Spoil of that capacious City, and the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, for their Slaves.

A. D. 1431. Theſſalonica *taken by the* Turks.

Nothing could exceed the Calamities of this City, but thoſe that follow'd ſome Years after at *Conſtantinople*, which ſeem'd to be prefigur'd by theſe. The Holy Virgins, devoted to a Recluſe Life, became ſubject to the Luſt of the moſt libidinous Conquerors, and the noble Matrons fell a Prey to inſolent Vagabonds,

bonds, and undistinguish'd Slaves. The declar'd Enemies of Jesus Christ profan'd the Altar, robb'd the Churches of their Sacred Ornaments, and blasphem'd God in the Sanctuary. Miseries 'till then unheard of, and not now to be express'd, fell like a Torrent upon the Head of a guilty and impenitent People, whose obstinate Iniquities and daily Provocations had forc'd the Divine Vengeance down to overwhelm 'em. When *Amurath* had thus, with the Insolence of a victorious implacable Enemy, sacrific'd the miserable Inhabitants of *Thessalonica* to his brutish Barbarity, and repeopled it with Subjects of his own Nation, he return'd to *Adrianople*, where he gave Audience to the *Venetian* Ambassadors, who, weary of the War, and afraid lest he should in the end translate it into *Eubæa*, made Proposals for a Peace, recommended with such Concessions on their Parts that *Amurath* at length disdain'd not to condescend to it, tho' he instantly directed his restless Arms against other Christian Princes, by the Fertility of whose Countries he was allur'd, or enrag'd at their generous Love of Liberty.

A Peace concluded betwixt him and the Venetians.

This amazing Progress of the *Turks* gave *John* the Emperor great Reason to fear, that his petty Empire would at length become their Prey, unless he receiv'd timely Assistance from the *Latins*, in whom all his Hopes of Succours rested, which made him seriously desire the Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, as the only means to effect it. Wherefore hearing a Council was to be celebrated at *Ferrara*, and being invited to it by *Eugenius* IV. Pope of *Rome*, he went thither in Person, attended by the Patriarch, the Clergy, and a long Train of *Græcian* Princes, and was magnificently receiv'd by the Western Princes. At *Florence*, to which, by reason of the Plague that rag'd at *Ferrara*, the Council was afterwards remov'd, the Union between the two Churches was effected, and subscrib'd to by the Patriarch and the rest of the Bishops, who gain'd more by it than the Emperor, for they had liberal Pensions allow'd 'em for their Support, where-

as he receiv'd nothing but uncertain Promiſes of Aſſiſtance hereafter, and had little Reaſon to expect the Performance.

Upon his Return he found his People little ſatisfy'd with what had been done, eſpecially when they heard that ſome of their Biſhops refus'd to ſubſcribe to the Decrees of their Council, 'till they had receiv'd the Money they had bargain'd for before-hand, by that means publickly proſtituting their own Conſciences, their Religion, and the Truſt repos'd in 'em, for Gain. This Uneaſineſs in his Subjects, the Loſs of his Empreſs *Deſpina*, who dy'd during his Abſence in *Italy*, and the daily Encroachments of the *Turks*, were Calamities too inſupportable to one already broken with Age and the Gout, and haſten'd him to his Grave, after he had reign'd twenty four Years, and beheld the unavoidable Ruin of the Empire gathering at a Diſtance, and like Waves in a tempeſtuous Sea rolling on with an impetuous Courſe, ſtrengthning and enlarging it ſelf in its Approach. Tho' moſt Authors agree upon the Time that he reign'd, yet they differ as to the Year in which he dy'd, ſome placing his Death in the Year 1444, or 45, and others in 1448. He left the Shadow of the Empire, and the Cares that attend it, to his Brother *Conſtantine*, but the Subſtance was gone long before. His Dominions were almoſt included within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, whither the Imperial Power and Authority retir'd, ſhining with a languid imperfect Light; as Life and Heat are driven frequently from the Members to the Head, of which at length they are diſpoſſeſs'd by Death.

John *the Emperor dies.*

CONSTANTINUS PALÆOLOGUS.

Amurath, the *Turkiſh* Sultan, did not long ſurvive the Emperor, but dying in the Year 1450, left his large Dominions to his eldeſt Son *Mahomet*, whoſe Mother being the Prince of *Servia*'s Daughter, and a Chriſtian, the Chriſtians promis'd themſelves at firſt mighty Advantages from the Death of *Amurath*, but quickly found how much their Hopes had deceiv'd 'em;

Amurath *dying, is ſucceeded by* Mahomet *the Great.*

'em; for *Mahomet* outwardly profeſs'd the Superſtitions of his Fathers, and declar'd himſelf an Enemy to Chriſtianity, tho' in reality he was of no Religion at all, but derided the Simplicity of thoſe who thought God concern'd himſelf with the Affairs of the World; and to give Mankind a terrible Inſtance of what they were to expect from him, he was no ſooner confirm'd in the Throne, but he put his Brethren to Death. At firſt he enter'd into a League with the Emperor *Conſtantine*, but ſo ſoon as he had finiſh'd the *Caramanian* War, which detain'd him for ſome time in *Aſia*, he then paſs'd over into *Europe*; and having built a Fort, call'd by the *Greeks Nævocaſtrum*, oppoſite to another in *Aſia*, call'd *Aſprocaſtron*, or the white Caſtle, by which means he had a perfect Command of thoſe Streights, and was able to curb *Conſtantinople*, from whence this Caſtle was but five Miles diſtant, and interrupt the Trade which the Merchants of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Conſtantinople* drove at *Corfu*, he then thought it in his Power to take that City, ſo often attempted by his Predeceſſors, who after long Sieges had been forc'd to riſe from it with Diſhonour.

The Citizens of *Conſtantinople* were exceedingly concern'd at this Undertaking, conceiving, upon good Grounds, that it was deſign'd for their Deſtruction; wherefore the Emperor ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Mahomet* to expoſtulate the Matter with him, to repreſent to him the Injuſtice of the Attempt, and if poſſible to divert him from it. But the arrogant Tyrant was ſo far from complying, that he threaten'd to pull his Skin over the Ears of any other that ſhould be ſent to him upon that Errand, and proceeded on in the Work, which in the Beginning of the Spring was finiſh'd; after which he ſent his Troops abroad, who ſcour'd the Country up to the very Gates of the City, which the Emperor by a provident Care had before ſupply'd with plenty of Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries requiſite to a Siege. And at the ſame time he ſent to deſire Aid from the Pope, and

the

the other Chriſtian Princes, who notwithſtanding, miſ-led by a ſtrange Infatuation, ſuffer'd the City to become a Prey to the *Turks*, whilſt they ſate ſtill as idle Spectators, or were wholly employ'd in petty Quarrels among themſelves.

In the beginning of the Year 1453, a Year fatally memorable to all Chriſtendom, *Mahomet* march'd from *Adrianople* at the Head of three hundred thouſand Men, *Bulgarians*, *Servians*, *Macedonians*, *Germans*, *Bohemians*, *Hungarians*, and even *Greeks* having liſted themſelves under him; it being always the Policy of the *Mahometan* Princes to allure Chriſtians to fight againſt their Brethren, and to turn their unnatural Arms againſt themſelves. To theſe were added his effeminate Soldiers of *Aſia*, his natural *Turks* and *Janizaries*, in Number fewer, in Quality inferior, and yet they commanded all the reſt. With this Army, well appointed with all warlike Proviſion, *Mahomet* came, and on the ninth of *April* encamp'd before *Conſtantinople*, covering with his numerous Troops all the main Land before the City from the ſide of the *Boſphorus* to the Haven, which the River running far up into the Land, makes between *Pera* and *Conſtantinople*. The *Aſiaticks* were plac'd on the right Hand towards the *Boſphorus*; the *Europeans* lay on the left, extending to the Haven, and the Sultan himſelf was planted with fifteen thouſand *Janizaries* and other Guards over-againſt the Heart of the City, and in the middle between both. His Admiral at the ſame time brought a Fleet conſiſting of thirty Gallies, two hundred ſmall Ships, and other leſſer Veſſels mann'd with *Turkiſh* Archers, who were more for Shew than Service. The Emperor on the other ſide had no more than ſeven great Ships belonging to the *Genoeſe*, with three *Cretan* Gallies, as many from *Venice*, and two Galliots, and a few other ſmall Veſſels of *Chios*, all which came thither upon the Account of Trade, and by Chance rather than upon any deſign of Service, for which they were not well provided. Beſides the *Greeks*

A. D. 1453.

who lay Siege to Conſtantinople.

The ſtrength of the Beſieg'd.

arm'd by the Emperor for the Defence of the City, he had entertain'd in his Service *Joannes Juſtinianus*, a *Genoeſe* Adventurer, who having been ſcouring thoſe Seas, came about that time to *Conſtantinople* with two tall Ships, and four hundred bold, hardy, and experienc'd Soldiers. This Man, being of noble Deſcent, receiv'd a hearty Welcome from the Emperor, who made him Lieutenant-General of all his Forces, conſiſting of no more than ſix thouſand *Greeks*, and three thouſand Strangers, upon whoſe courageous Defence the Fate of the Empire depended.

The Progreſs of the Beſiegers.

When *Mahomet* had aſſign'd each part of his Army their ſeveral Quarters, and had in a manner ſurrounded the City both by Sea and Land, he planted his Batteries as near the Walls as poſſible, and rais'd great Mounts in ſeveral Places as high as the Walls themſelves, from whence the Defendants were ſorely gaul'd by the *Turkiſh* Shot. He had in his Camp a Piece of Ordnance of a prodigious Size, drawn with much Difficulty by an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen from *Adrianople*, where it had been caſt by an *Hungarian* Founder, who had formerly offer'd his Service to *Conſtantine*, from whom he met with ſo ſmall Encouragement, that he fled over to *Mahomet* whilſt he was buſy'd in building his new Caſtle, who aſſign'd him ſo liberal a Penſion, that for a quarter of it he would have continu'd firm in the Emperor's Service. With this vaſt Piece *Mahomet* terribly ſhook the Walls, and made ſuch Breaches, that the Defendants, who omitted no part of their Duty, found it almoſt impoſſible to repair 'em. At the ſame time his Pioneers, directed by ſome fugitive Chriſtians, had brought their Works to ſuch Perfection, that part of the Wall and a great Tower ſtanding upon it were entirely undermin'd, and there wanted nothing but the Tyrant's Direction for the blowing it up, when a *German* Captain call'd *Grandis*, a Man of great Experience in Services of that Nature, ſuſpecting the Enemies Deſigns, wrought a Countermine, and ſav'd the

the City for the preſent. This, and the vigorous Reſiſtance of the Defendants, prolong'd the Siege, and threw the Tyrant into a great Rage, which was aggravated when he beheld from Shore his whole Fleet worſted by four *Genoeſe* Ships laden with Men and Ammunition from *Chios*, and one belonging to the Emperor, freighted with Corn from *Sicily*. The *Turkiſh* Admiral at the firſt ſight of 'em was order'd to take 'em if poſſible, or at leaſt to prevent their joining the reſt of the Fleet which lay croſs the Haven, over which the Emperor had drawn a Chain from *Pera* to *Conſtantinople*, and plac'd the Fleet within it for the Security of the Harbour; but the *Turkiſh* Gallies being low built, their Crew, when-ever they boarded one of thoſe tall Ships, fought with a mighty Diſadvantage; for the Chriſtians from on high thunder'd their Shot down upon 'em, and made a bloody Havock among 'em. *Mahomet* all the while beheld the whole Action from aſhore, and perceiving the unequal Fight, and prodigious Slaughter of his Men, he tore his Hair, blaſphem'd God, and with a blind headſtrong Fury ruſh'd into the Sea, as if the Waters were bound to bear him and his Horſe to his Fleet, and he by his ſingle Preſence was able to turn the Fortune of the Day; 'till inſtructed better by his Danger, he turn'd back, and fill'd the Air with loud Outcries, and direful Execrations. At length his Fleet, weary and diſabled, for they are ſaid to have loſt above ten thouſand Men, retir'd with Diſhonour, and all the Chriſtian Ships, except one which was ſunk, got ſafe into the Harbour; which when *Mahomet* perceiv'd to be ſo ſtrongly defended, that he could not poſſibly force it, nor conſequently aſſault the City on that ſide, he enter'd upon a bold extravagant Deſign, of which none but a Soul large as his own could be capable. For having commanded all the Wood from behind *Pera* to the Haven of *Conſtantinople* to be fell'd, and the Ways mended as well as the Nature of the Ground would admit, he contriv'd

The Turkiſh Fleet worſted by five Chriſtian Ships.

Mahomet's inſolent Rage.

triv'd certain Engines by the Aſſiſtance of a Renegado Chriſtian, who had ſeen ſomething like it practis'd before by the *Venetians* in the Lake of *Benaco*, with which he convey'd eighty of his Ships with all their Sails flying, to the Admiration of thoſe who ſaw it, over Land the ſpace of eight Miles, into the Haven of *Conſtantinople*, where the Chriſtian Gallies attempted to have burnt thoſe Veſſels as they were launching 'em; but *Mahomet* had before planted ſeveral Pieces of great Ordnance for their Defence, with which he ſunk the foremoſt of the Gallies, and forc'd the reſt to retire. Having thus got Poſſeſſion of the Haven, he caus'd a Bridge to be built over it with wonderful Labour and Expedition, by which means that part of his Army which lay encamp'd near *Pera*, could paſs over to the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, and aſſault it on that ſide alſo.

who conveys 80 of his Ships 8 Miles over Land into the Haven.

The Behaviour of the Beſieg'd.

In the mean time the City was not in more Danger from her Enemies without, than her own Citizens, who were miſerably divided with Factions within; and 'tis wonderful to conſider how far that unhappy People were tranſported with a blind Zeal for Religion, at a time when they were ſurrounded with Dangers, and Deſtruction ſtood waiting at their Doors to devour 'em. The Diſputes relating to the Union with the *Latins* were grown by this time ſo high, that ſome of principal Authority in the City made no Scruple of declaring, that they had rather ſee a *Turk's* Turban, than a Cardinal's Cap at *Conſtantinople*; by that means ſacrificing all that was dear to 'em, their Duty to their Country, their Intereſt, their Liberty, and that very Religion about which they with ſo much Heat contended, to their private Animoſities, and ill-grounded Opinions: A ſtrange Infatuation, and a manifeſt Token that God in his Diſpleaſure had forſaken 'em.

Duc. cap. 38.

During theſe Diſputes and Contentions, the Auxiliary Soldiers mutiny'd for want of Pay, and the Inhabitants refus'd to go upon the Walls, declaring they had

had no Courage to fight againſt the *Turks* in the Breaches, whilſt their Families ſtarved at home for want of Suſtenance. To remedy theſe two great Evils, after the poor Emperor had firſt with Tears in vain requeſted of his covetous Subjects to lend their Money for the Defence of the City, and they affirm'd with Oaths that they had none, but were reduc'd to extream Poverty for want of Trade, he was forc'd to convert the Plate and Jewels of the Church into Money to ſatisfie his Soldiers, and commanded a View to be taken of all the Corn in the City, which upon diligent Search was found in great Abundance in private Mens Hands, who conceal'd it on Purpoſe to make an unreaſonable Advantage of it; which however the Emperor now caus'd to be divided proportionably to every Family at a reaſonable Price, and ſilenc'd the Complaints of the People, who were by that Means ſupply'd with more than the Time allotted 'em by Fate would ſuffer 'em to conſume.

Mahomet *prepares for a general Storm.*

For *Mahomet* having now prepar'd all Things neceſſary for a general Aſſault, the fatal Hour was approaching. The Report of the great Preparations the Princes were making in the Weſt for the Relief of the City, made it debated in a Council of War, whether the Siege was to be continu'd or rais'd. Some were of Opinion that the Army ought to break up and depart, without running the hazard of a Defeat from the Chriſtians; but the Arguments of thoſe who were for the Continuance of the Siege agreed beſt with *Mahomet*'s Humour, whereupon the Day was appointed for a general Aſſault. *Haly Baſſa*, who had formerly been *Mahomet*'s Tutor and was of the other Opinion, diſdaining to have his Counſel rejected, and inwardly well inclin'd to the Chriſtians, ſecretly advertis'd the Emperor of it; for which he was afterwards ſeiz'd by the Tyrant's Order, and carry'd in Bonds to *Adrianople*, where he was forc'd by exquiſite Tortures to diſcover his Treaſure, after which he was in his extream old Age put to Death.

The Emperor, forewarn'd by this friendly Admonition, firſt recommended the Care of himſelf and the City to the Divine Protection, and then appointed every Man to his Poſt, for the Defence of the Walls; but becauſe the City was ſo large that all Parts could not equally be defended by ſo ſmall a Number as were the Beſieg'd, the greateſt Strength was plac'd for the Defence of the outer Wall, where a conſiderable Breach had been made by the Piece of Ordnance before-mention'd. This *Juſtinian*, with three hundred *Genoeſe*, and a ſelect Body of *Greeks*, undertook to defend; and the Emperor himſelf, with another Body well arm'd, was poſted near him. Here they lay all Night, waiting for the Time when the Aſſault was to be given, and hearing with Aſtoniſhment a great Noiſe in the *Turkiſh* Camp, who were making Preparations for it. *Mahomet* had ſome time before offer'd 'em a Peace, but upon ſuch Terms as he knew they would not accept, which was done either to try if they had Courage to hold out to the laſt Extremity, or to juſtifie all the Barbarities he was reſolv'd to exerciſe againſt 'em, when he had maſter'd the City.

Early on the twenty ninth of *May Mahomet* detach'd a great Number of ſuch as were leaſt regarded by him to begin the Aſſault, who were deſign'd for no other purpoſe but to weary the Chriſtians, before the Attack was begun by his more vigorous Aſſailants, who were twice or thrice repuls'd by the Beſieg'd, but with freſh Courage they renew'd the Aſſault. During the Conflict *Juſtinian* receiv'd a Wound in his Arm, at which when he perceiv'd he bled apace, he withdrew from his Charge, without leaving any to command in his room, and cauſing the *Roman* Gate to be open'd, which had been ſhut with the reſt by the Emperor's Order, that his Soldiers, obſerving there was no way left for 'em to eſcape, might fight with a more deſperate Courage, he retir'd firſt into the City, and getting from thence to *Pera*, he took Ship and ſail'd to *Chios*, where

Juſtinian, the Emperor's General, wounded, retires;

where he finiſh'd his Life with more Ignominy, than he could have loſt it with Honour under the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

The Soldiers, diſmay'd at their General's Retreat, and furiouſly aſſaulted by the *Janizaries*, quitted their Poſts in great Confuſion, and fled too, ſtriving to follow him in at the ſame Gate; whither they preſs'd in ſuch great Multitudes that eight hundred of 'em were trodden under foot, among whom was the Emperor himſelf, who, perceiving that neither his Words or Example could remove the panick Fear which had ſeiz'd his Soldiers, fled with the reſt for Safety, and was preſs'd to Death.

In the mean time the *Turks*, being animated with the Flight of the Chriſtians, advanc'd their Enſigns, and repeating with reiterated Shouts the joyful Sounds of Victory, ruſh'd in at the Breach, and like a Flood whoſe Fury had been long reſtrain'd, bore down all before 'em, killing ſuch as came in their way, whether they ſubmitted, fled from 'em, or had the Courage to reſiſt. For conceiving, by the vigorous Defence they had made, there had been many thouſands more in the Place than there really were, they gave no Quarter, but fill'd the Streets with Blood and Horror. The Miſeries that hereupon enſu'd were ſuch as Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, neither has it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive, exceeding even thoſe *Jeruſalem* once felt, which are ſo lively repreſented by the diſconſolate Prophet, and to which all other Deſcriptions would be infinitely inferior. During the Heats which aroſe upon the Account of Religion, thoſe who oppos'd a Conformity to the *Romiſh* Communion abſented from the great Church, as diſdaining to communicate with their Adverſaries; but now their Fears drove 'em, whither their Charity could not before lead or invite 'em. They ruſh'd thither in promiſcuous Crouds as to

and occaſions the Loſs of the City.

Duc.

an *Asylum*; but the Holy Sanctuary could afford no Protection to those, who had forsaken God, and for that Reason were forsaken by him; for they were all slain without Pity, except some few reserv'd by the barbarous Conquerors to Purposes more grievous than Death it self. Whilst some were busy'd in prophaning the Churches, and with impious Hands tore down and defac'd their Holy Ornaments, others equally barbarous forc'd their miserable Captives, and with Torments 'till then uninvented, to discover the Treasures those unhappy Wretches had hid from the Emperor during the Siege, and which now appear'd so great that the *Turks* wonder'd at their Wealth, and at the same time derided their Folly, that possessing so much they bestow'd so little in Defence of themselves and their Country; and at this very Day, when a Man is observ'd to grow rich on a sudden, the *Turks* say by way of Proverb, *He has been at the Sack of* Constantinople.

The Death of the Emperor.

Some say the Emperor was not press'd to Death, but that he, being accompany'd with *Theophilus Palæologus*, *Francis Comnenus*, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, and the rest of the stoutest among the Nobility, did more than could be well expected of a Man, to oppose the Inundation of the *Barbarians*, 'till he was forc'd to yield to their infinite Number; and when he saw all his Companions kill'd, he cry'd out in a lamentable Tone, *What, is there no Christian near me to cut off my Head?* And that one of the Enemy, who did not know him, wounded him in the Face, whilst another came behind him, and struck him dead; and that *Mahomet*, to honour the Courage of so great a Prince, commanded that all the Funeral Honours due to Emperors should be paid him.

Duc. cap. 39.

Thus dy'd *Constantine Palæologus*, the last Emperor of the *Greeks* in *Constantinople*, and had the unfortunate Honour of being accompany'd by the Empire in his Fall,

Fall, after he had liv'd forty nine Years, and reign'd almoſt ten. He dy'd, as ſome of his Predeceſſors deſir'd to die, in Action, fighting with his Sword in his Hand for the Defence of his Country; like a ſecond *Moſes* ſtanding in the Gap, and endeavouring to avert the Divine Judgments from his People, but the Meaſure of their Iniquities was compleat, and the deſtroying Angel was ſent out againſt 'em. To refer private Calamities to the Sins of thoſe on whom they are inflicted is juſtly eſteem'd bold and uncharitable, but when God's Judgments are diſcharg'd in general upon a whole Nation, when the Upright periſh with the Wicked, and the Innocent with the Guilty, then it is lawful for us humbly to enquire what it was that forc'd the Divine Indignation down upon 'em, and to juſtifie the Decrees of Providence; and ſure the *Greeks* are equally an Inſtance to us of God's Mercies, and his Judgments. He had forborn 'em long, tho' they daily provok'd him by their Pride, their Impiety, and Uncharitableneſs; 'till at length he rais'd barbarous Nations up, who were firſt admitted to chaſtiſe, and when they ſtill continu'd in their Impenitency, then were they at laſt commanded to deſtroy 'em. They who reaſon thus upon this Diſſolution of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, which has ſince prov'd ſo fatal to all Chriſtendom, are more to be commended than thoſe who aſcribe it to Cauſes, which ſavour more of human Policy, and derogate from the Reſpect due to Divine Providence. This great Revolution happen'd in the ſeventh Year of *Nicholas* the Fifth, Pope of *Rome*; the thirty ſecond of *Charles* the Seventh of *France*, and thirty third of *Henry* the Sixth, King of *England*, *A. D.* 1453.

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